

BOOK VII.

POLYMNIA.

WHEN the news of the battle fought at Marathon reached Darius, son of Hystaspes, who was before much exasperated with the Athenians on account of the attack upon Sardis, he then became much more incensed, and was still more eager to prosecute the war against Greece. Having therefore immediately sent messengers to the several cities, he enjoined them to prepare an army, imposing on each a much greater number than

they had furnished before, and ships, horses, corn, and transports. When these orders were proclaimed round about, Asia was thrown into agitation during the space of three years, the bravest men being enrolled and prepared for the purpose of invading Greece. But in the fourth year the Egyptians, who had been subdued by Cambyzes, revolted from the Persians; whereupon Darius only became more eager to march against both. 2. When Darius was preparing for his expeditions against Egypt and Athens, a violent dissension arose between his sons concerning the sovereignty; for by the customs of the Persians he was obliged to nominate his successor, before he marched out on any expedition. Now Darius, even before he became king, had three sons born to him by his former wife, the daughter of Gobryas; and after his accession to the throne, four others by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus. Of the former, Artabazanes was the eldest; of those after born, Xerxes: and these two not being of the same mother, were at variance. Artabazanes *urged* that he was the eldest of all the sons, and that it was the established usage among all men that the eldest son should succeed to the sovereignty: on the other hand, Xerxes *alleged* that he was son of Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, and that it was Cyrus who had acquired freedom for the Persians. 3. When Darius had not yet declared his opinion, at this very conjuncture, Demaratus, son of Ariston, happened to come up to Susa, having been deprived of the kingly office at Sparta,¹ and having imposed on himself a voluntary exile from Lacedæmon. This man, having heard of the difference between the sons of Darius, went to Xerxes, as report says, and advised him to say in addition to what he had already said; that "he was born to Darius after he had become king, and was possessed of the empire of the Persians; whereas Artabazanes was born to Darius while he was yet a private person; wherefore it was not reasonable or just that any other should possess that dignity in preference to himself, since in Sparta also," Demaratus continued to suggest, "this custom prevailed, that if some children were born before their father became king, and one was born subsequently when he had now come to the throne, this last born son should succeed to the kingdom." Xerxes having availed himself of the suggestion of Demaratus, Da-

¹ See B. VI. chap. 70.

rius, acknowledging that he said what was just, declared him king. But it appears to me that even without this suggestion Xerxes would have been made king; for Atossa had unbounded influence. 4. Darius, having appointed Xerxes to be king over the Persians, prepared to march. However, after these things, and in the year after the revolt of Egypt, it happened that Darius himself, while he was making preparations, died, having reigned thirty-six years in all; nor was he able to avenge himself either on the Egyptians, who had revolted, or on the Athenians. When Darius was dead, the kingdom devolved on his son Xerxes.

5. Xerxes, however, was at first by no means inclined to make war against Greece, but he levied forces for the reduction of Egypt. But Mardonius, son of Gobryas, who was cousin to Xerxes, and son of Darius's sister, being present, and having the greatest influence with him of all the Persians, constantly held the following language, saying, "Sir, it is not right that the Athenians, having already done much mischief to the Persians, should go unpunished for what they have done. However, for the present, finish the enterprise you have in hand; and when you have quelled the insolence of Egypt, lead your army against Athens; that you may acquire a good reputation among men, and any one for the future may be cautious of marching against your territory." This language was used by him for the purposes of revenge, but he frequently made the following addition to it, that "Europe was a very beautiful country, and produced all kinds of cultivated trees, and was very fertile, and worthy to be possessed by the king alone of all mortals." 6. He spake thus, because he was desirous of new enterprises, and wished to be himself governor of Greece: in time he effected his purpose, and persuaded Xerxes to do as he advised; for other things happening favourably assisted him in persuading Xerxes. In the first place messengers coming from Thessaly on the part of the Aleuadae, invited the king, with earnest importunity, to invade Greece: these Aleuadae were kings of Thessaly. And in the next place, those of the Pisistratidae, who had gone up to Susa, holding the same language as the Aleuadae, still more eagerly pressed him, having with them Onomacritus, an Athenian, a soothsayer and dispenser of the oracles of Musaeus. For they went up to *Susa*, having first reconciled their former

enmity *with him*. For Onomacritus had been banished from Athens by Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, having been detected by Lasus the Hermionian, in the very act of interpolating among the oracles of Musæus, one importing, that the islands lying off Lemnos would disappear beneath the sea: wherefore Hipparchus banished him, although he had before been very familiar with him. But at that time having gone up with them, whenever he came into the presence of the king, as the Pisistratidæ spoke of him in very high terms, he recited some of the oracles; if, however, there was amongst them any that portended misfortune to the barbarians, of these he made no mention; but selecting such as were most favourable, he said it was fated that the Hellespont should be bridged over by a Persian, describing the march. Thus he continually assailed² *the king*, rehearsing oracles, as did the Pisistratidæ and Aleuadæ, by declaring their opinions. 7. When Xerxes was persuaded to make war against Greece, he then, in the second year after the death of Darius, first made an expedition against those who had revolted; and, having subdued them and reduced all Egypt to a worse state of servitude than it was under Darius, he committed the government to Achæmenes, his own brother, and son of Darius. Some time after, Inarus,³ son of Psammitichus, a Libyan, slew Achæmenes, to whom the government of Egypt was committed.

8. Xerxes, after the reduction of Egypt, when he was about to take in hand the expedition against Athens, convoked an assembly of the principal Persians, that he might both hear their opinions, and himself make known his intentions before them all. When they were assembled Xerxes addressed them as follows: (1.) "Men of Persia, I shall not be the first to introduce this custom among you, but shall adopt it, having received it from my forefathers. For, as I learn from older men, we have never remained inactive since we wrested the sovereign power from the Medes, and Cyrus overthrew Astyages: but the deity thus leads the way, and to us who follow his guidance many things result to our advantage. What deeds Cyrus, and Cambyses, and my father Darius have achieved, and what nations they have added to our empire, no one need mention to you who know them well. But I, since I have succeeded to the throne,

² Or "conducted himself."

³ See B. III. chap. 12.

have carefully considered this, in what way I may not fall short of my predecessors in this honour, nor acquire less additional power to the Persians. And on mature consideration, I find that we may at once acquire an increase of glory, and a country not inferior nor poorer, but even more productive than that we now possess; and at the same time that satisfaction and vengeance will accrue to us. Wherefore I have now called you together, that I may communicate to you what I purpose to do. (2.) I intend to throw a bridge over the Hellespont, and to march an army through Europe against Greece, that I may punish the Athenians for the injuries they have done to the Persians and to my father. You have already seen Darius preparing to make war against those people; but he died, and had it not in his power to avenge himself. But I, in his cause and that of the other Persians, will not rest till I have taken and burnt Athens; for they first began by doing acts of injustice against my father and me. First of all having come to Sardis, with Aristagoras the Milesian, our servant, on their arrival they burnt down both the groves and the temples. And, secondly, how they treated us on our making a descent on their territory, when Datis and Artaphernes led our forces, you all know well enough. (3.) For these reasons, therefore, I have resolved to make war upon them. And on reflection, I find the following advantages in this course: if we shall subdue them, and their neighbours, who inhabit the country of Pelops the Phrygian, we shall make the Persian territory co-extensive with the air of heaven; nor will the sun look down upon any land that borders on ours; but I, with your assistance, will make them all one territory, marching through the whole of Europe. For I am informed that such is the case; and that no city or nation of the world will remain, which will be able to come to a battle with us, when those whom I have mentioned have been brought into subjection. Thus, both those who are guilty, and those who are not guilty, must equally submit to the yoke of servitude. (4.) But you, by doing what I require, will gratify me exceedingly; when I shall have informed you of the time, it will be the duty of each of you to come promptly. And whosoever shall appear with the best-appointed troops, to him I will give such presents as are accounted most honourable in our country. But that I may not appear to follow my own counsel only,

I lay the matter before you, bidding any one of you who wishes, to declare his opinion." Having said this, he ceased.

9. After him Mardonius spoke: "Sir, not only are you the most excellent of all the Persians that have yet been, but even of all that ever shall be; you also, in other respects, have in speaking touched upon the most important topics and the most exact truth, and especially will not suffer the Ionians, who dwell in Europe, to mock us, worthless as they are. For it would indeed be a great indignity, if, having subdued the Sacæ, Indians, Ethiopians, and Assyrians, and other nations, many and powerful, which never did the Persians any wrong, but, in order only to enlarge our dominions, we hold them in servitude; and yet shall not avenge ourselves on the Greeks, who were the first to commit injustice. Having what to fear? what confluence of numbers? what power of wealth? (1.) We are acquainted with their manner of fighting; and we are acquainted with their power, that it is weak. We hold their children in subjection, those who dwell within our territories, and are called Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians. I myself have made trial of these men already, marching against them at the command of your father; and when I advanced as far as Macedonia, and was within a short distance of reaching Athens itself, no one opposed me in battle. (2.) And yet the Greeks are accustomed, as I am informed, to undertake wars without deliberation, from obstinacy and folly. For when they have declared war against one another, having found out the fairest and most level spot, they go down to it and fight; so that the conquerors depart with great loss, and of the conquered I say nothing at all, for they are utterly destroyed. Whereas, being of the same language, they ought, by the intervention of heralds and ambassadors, to adjust their differences, and in any way rather than by fighting. But if they must needs go to war with each other, they ought to find out where they are each least likely to be conquered, and there try *the issue of a battle*. The Greeks, accordingly, adopting a disadvantageous method, when I marched as far as Macedonia, never ventured so far as to come to a battle. (3.) Will any one, then, O king, have recourse to war, and oppose you, when you lead the multitudes of Asia, and all her ships? In my opinion, indeed, the Grecians will never proceed to such a degree of audacity. But if I should happen to be deceived

in my opinion, and they, elated by folly, should come to battle with us, they will learn, that of all men we are the most skilled in war. Let nothing then be untried; for nothing is accomplished of its own self, but all things are usually achieved by men through endeavours." Mardonius, having thus smoothed over the opinion of Xerxes, ceased to speak.

10. The rest of the Persians continuing silent, and not daring to declare an opinion to the one proposed, Artabanus, son of Hystaspes, being uncle to Xerxes, and relying on this, spoke as follows: (1.) "O king, unless opinions opposite to each other are spoken, it is impossible to choose the better, but it becomes necessary to adopt that which has been advanced; whereas, when various opinions have been given, it is possible: just as with unalloyed gold, we cannot distinguish it by itself, but when we have rubbed it by the side of other gold, we do distinguish the better. I warned your father and my brother not to make war upon the Scythians,⁴ a people who have no city in any part of their territory; but he, hoping to subdue the Scythian nomades, heeded not my advice, and having led an army against them, returned with the loss of many brave men of his army. But you, O king, are about to make war on men far superior to the Scythians; who are said to be most valiant both by sea and land; it is, therefore, right that I should inform you of the danger we have to fear. (2.) You say, that having thrown a bridge over the Hellespont, you will march an army through Europe into Greece; now, it may happen that we shall be worsted either by land or by sea, or even by both; for the people are said to be valiant; and this we may infer, since the Athenians alone destroyed so great an army that invaded the Attic territory, under Datis and Artaphernes. They were not, however, successful in both; but if they should attack us with their fleet, and having obtained a naval victory, should sail to the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge, this surely, O king, were a great danger. (3.) Nor do I found this conjecture on any wisdom of my own, but from the calamity that once all but befel us, when your father, having joined the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus, and thrown a bridge over the Ister, crossed over to attack the Scythians; then the Scythians used every means to induce the Ionians, to whom the guard of the

⁴ See B. IV. ch. 83.

passage over the Ister had been intrusted, to break up the bridge: and if, at that time, Histiaëus, tyrant of Miletus, had assented to the opinion of the other tyrants, and had not opposed it, the power of the Persians would have been utterly ruined. It is dreadful even to hear it said, that the whole power of the king depended on a single man. (4.) Do not, therefore, willingly expose yourself to any such danger, when there is no necessity; but be persuaded by me; dismiss this assembly; and hereafter, whenever it shall seem fit to you, having considered with yourself, proclaim what appears to you to be most advantageous. For to deliberate well, I find is the greatest gain. For if the result prove unfortunate, the matter has, nevertheless, been well deliberated on, but our deliberation is defeated by fortune; but he who has deliberated badly, if fortune attend him, has met with a success he had no right to expect, but has, nevertheless, formed bad plans. (5.) Do you see how the deity strikes with his thunder the tallest animals, and suffers them not to be ostentatious, but the smaller ones do not at all offend him? Do you see how he ever hurls his bolts against the loftiest buildings, and trees of the like kind? For the deity is wont to cut off every thing that is too highly exalted. Thus, even a large army is often defeated by a small one, in such manner as this: when the deity, through jealousy, strikes them with terror or lightning, whereby they perish in a manner unworthy of themselves; for the deity will not suffer any one but himself to have high thoughts. (6.) Again, to hasten any matter produces failures, from whence great losses are wont to follow; but in delay there are advantages, which, though not immediately apparent, yet one may discover after a time. This, then, O king, is the advice I give you. (7.) But do you, Mardonius, son of Gobryas, cease to speak vain words of the Grecians, who do not deserve to be spoken lightly of. For by calumniating the Greeks, you urge the king himself to lead an army against them; and to this end you appear to me to exert all your efforts. But may it not so be. For calumny is the worst of evils; in it there are two who commit injustice, and one who is injured: for he who calumniates another, acts unjustly by accusing one that is not present; and he acts unjustly, who is persuaded before he has learnt the exact truth; and he that is absent when the charge is made, is thus doubly injured,

being calumniated by the one, and by the other deemed to be base. (8.) But if, at all events, it must needs be, that war must be made on these people, come, let the king himself remain in the abodes of the Persians; let both of us risk our children, and do you lead the expedition, having selected what men you choose, and taken with you as large a force as you think fit; and if matters succeed to the king in the manner you say, let my children be put to death, and me also with them. But if the event prove such as I foretel, then let your children suffer the same, and you also with them, if ever you return. If, however, you are unwilling to submit to these terms, and will at all events lead an army against Greece, I affirm, that some of those who are left in this country, will hear that Mardonius, having brought some great disaster upon the Persians, and being torn in pieces by dogs and birds, either in the territory of the Athenians, or in that of the Lacedæmonians, if not sooner on his march, has discovered⁵ against what sort of men you now persuade the king to make war."

11. Artabanus thus spoke, but Xerxes, inflamed with anger, answered as follows: "Artabanus, you are my father's brother; this will protect you from receiving the just recompence of your foolish words. However I inflict this disgrace upon you, base and cowardly as you are, not to accompany me in my expedition against Greece, but to remain here with the women; and I, without your assistance, will accomplish all that I have said. For I should not be sprung from Darius, son of Hystaspes, son of Arsames, son of Ariaramnes, son of Teispes, son of Cyrus, son of Cambyses, son of Achæmenes, if I did not avenge myself on the Athenians, knowing full well that if we continue quiet, yet they will not, but will even invade our territories, if we may conjecture from what has been already done by them, who have both burnt Sardis, and advanced into Asia. Wherefore it is not possible for either party to retreat, but the alternative lies before us to do or suffer: so that all these dominions must fall under the power of the Grecians, or all theirs under that of the Persians; for there is no medium in this enmity. It is therefore honourable for us, who have first

⁵ Larcher, with whom Baehr appears to agree, refers γνόντα to τινα; in that case the meaning of the passage being, that "those who remain at home will, when they hear of the disasters that have befallen Mardonius and the army, learn what an enemy they have had to contend with."

suffered, to take revenge, that I may also be informed of the danger to which I shall expose myself, by marching against those men, whom Pelops the Phrygian, who was a slave of my ancestors, so completely subdued, that even to this day the people themselves and their country are called after the name of the conqueror."

12. These things were said so far: but afterwards night came on, and the opinion of Artabanus occasioned uneasiness to Xerxes, and deliberating with himself during the night, he clearly discovered that it would not be to his interest to make war on Greece: having thus altered his resolution, he fell asleep; and some time in the night, he saw the following vision, as is related by the Persians. Xerxes imagined that a tall and handsome man stood by him, and said: "Do you then change your mind, O Persian, *and resolve* not to lead an army against Greece, after having ordered the Persians to assemble their forces? You do not well to change your resolution, nor is there any man who will agree with you. Therefore pursue that course which you resolved upon in the day." Xerxes thought that the man, having pronounced these words, flew away. 13. When day dawned, he paid no attention to this dream, but having assembled those Persians whom he had before convened, he addressed them as follows: "Pardon me, O Persians, that I suddenly change my plans; for I have not yet attained to the highest perfection of judgment, and they who persuade me to this enterprise, are never absent from me. When therefore I heard the opinion of Artabanus, my youth immediately boiled with rage against him, so that I threw out words more unbecoming than I ought to a person of his years. But now, conscious of my error, I will follow his advice: since therefore I have changed my resolution, *and determined* not to make war against Greece, do you remain quiet." The Persians, when they heard this, being transported with joy, did him homage. 14. When night came, the same dream, again standing by Xerxes as he slept, said: "Son of Darius, you have then openly renounced, in the presence of the Persians, the intended expedition; and make no account of my words, as if you had not heard them from any one. Be well assured, however, of this, that unless you immediately undertake this expedition, this will be the consequence to you; as you have become great and powerful in a short time, so you shall become low

again in an equally short space." 15. Xerxes, being alarmed by this vision, rushed from his bed, and sent a messenger to call Artabanus; and when he came, Xerxes spoke to him as follows: "Artabanus, I on the moment was not in my senses, when I used hasty words to you in return for your good advice; however, after no long time I repented, and acknowledged that those measures which you suggested ought to be adopted by me. I am not, however, able to perform them, though desirous of doing so; for after I had altered my resolution, and acknowledged my error, a dream frequently presents itself to me, by no means approving of my so doing; and it has just now vanished, after threatening me. If, then, it is a deity who sends this dream, and it is his pleasure that an expedition against Greece should at all events take place, this same dream will also flit before you, and give the same injunction as to me. This I think will happen, if you should take all my apparel, and having put it on, should afterwards sit on my throne, and then go to sleep in my bed." 16. Xerxes thus addressed him; but Artabanus not obeying the first order, as he did not think himself worthy to sit on the royal throne, when he was at last compelled, did as he was desired, after he had spoken as follows. (1.) "I deem it an equal merit, O king, to form good plans, and to be willing to yield to one who gives good advice: and though both of these qualities attach to you, the converse of wicked men leads you astray; just as blasts of wind falling on the sea, which of all things is the most useful to mankind, do not suffer it to follow its proper nature. As for me, grief did not so much vex me at hearing your reproaches, as that when two opinions were proposed by the Persians, one tending to increase their arrogance, the other to check it, and to show how hurtful it is to teach the mind to be constantly seeking for more than we already possess; that, when these two opinions were proposed, you should choose that which is more dangerous both to yourself and the Persians. (2.) Now, however, after you have changed to the better resolution, you say, that since you have given up the expedition against the Greeks, a dream has come to you, sent by some god, which forbids you to abandon the enterprise. But these things, my son, are not divine, for dreams which wander among men, are such as I will explain to you, being many years older than you are. Those visions of dreams most com-

monly hover around men, *respecting things* which one has thought of during the day; and we, during the preceding days, have been very much busied about this expedition. (3.) If, however, this is not such as I judge, but has something divine in it, you have correctly summed up the whole in few words; then let it appear and give the same injunction to me as to you: and it ought not to appear to me any the more for my having your apparel than my own; nor the more because I go to sleep on your bed than on my own; if indeed it will appear at all. For that which has appeared to you in your sleep, whatever it be, can never arrive to such a degree of simplicity as to suppose that when it sees me, it is you, conjecturing from your apparel. But if it shall hold me in contempt, and not deign to appear to me, whether I be clothed in your robes or in my own; and if it shall visit you again, this indeed would deserve consideration: for if it should repeatedly visit you, I should myself confess it to be divine. If, however, you have resolved that so it should be, and it is not possible to avert this, but I must needs sleep in your bed, well, when this has been done, let it appear also to me. But till that time I shall persist in my present opinion." 17. Artabanus, having spoken thus, and hoping to show that Xerxes had said nothing of any moment, did what was ordered: and having put on the apparel of Xerxes and sat in the royal throne, when he afterwards went to bed, the same dream which had appeared to Xerxes, came to him when he was asleep, and standing over Artabanus, spoke as follows: "Art thou, then, the man who dissuadeth Xerxes from invading Greece, as if thou wert very anxious for him? But neither hereafter nor at present shalt thou escape unpunished for endeavouring to avert what is fated to be. What Xerxes must suffer if he continues disobedient, has been declared to him himself." 18. Artabanus imagined that the dream uttered these threats, and was about to burn out his eyes with hot irons. He therefore, having uttered a loud shriek, leapt up, and seating himself by Xerxes, when he had related all the particulars of the vision in the dream, spoke to him in this manner: "I, O king, being a man who have seen already many and great powers overthrown by inferior ones, would not suffer you to yield entirely to youth; knowing how mischievous it is to desire much, calling to mind the expedition of Cyrus against the Massagetæ, how it fared,

and calling to mind also that of Cambyses against the Ethiopians, and having accompanied Darius in the invasion of Scythia, knowing all these things, I was of opinion, that if you remained quiet, you must be pronounced happy by all men. But since some divine impulse has sprung up, and, as it seems, some heaven-sent destruction impends over the Greeks, I myself am converted, and change my opinion. Do you, then, make known to the Persians the intimation sent by the deity, and command them to follow the orders first given by you for the preparations; and act so, that, since the deity permits, nothing on your part may be wanting." When he had thus spoken, both being carried away by the vision, as soon as it was day Xerxes acquainted the Persians with what had happened; and Artabanus, who before was the only man who greatly opposed the expedition, now as openly promoted it.

19. After this, when Xerxes was resolved to undertake the expedition, another vision appeared to him in his sleep, which the magi, when they heard it, interpreted to relate to the whole world, and *to signify* that all mankind should serve him. The vision was as follows: Xerxes imagined that he was crowned with the sprig of an olive-tree, and that branches from this olive covered the whole earth; and that afterwards the crown that was placed on his head disappeared. The magi having given this interpretation, every one of the Persians, who were then assembled, departed immediately to his own government, and used all diligence to execute what had been ordered; every man hoping to obtain the proposed reward: Xerxes thus levied his army, searching out every region of the continent. 20. For from the reduction of Egypt, he was employed four whole years in assembling his forces, and providing things necessary for the expedition. In the course of the fifth year he began his march with a vast multitude of men. For of the expeditions with which we are acquainted, this was by far the greatest, so that that of Darius against the Scythians appears nothing in comparison with this, nor the Scythian, when the Scythians, pursuing the Cimmerians, and invading the Medic territory, subdued almost the whole of the upper part of Asia, on account of which Darius afterwards attempted to inflict vengeance on them; nor, according to what is related, that of the Atridæ against Ilium; nor that of the Mysians and Teucrians, which took place be-

fore the Trojan war, who having passed over into Europe by the Bosphorus, subdued all the Thracians, and went down to the Ionian Sea, and marched southward as far as the river Peneus. 21. All these expeditions, and any others, if there have been any besides them, are not to be compared with this one. For what nation did not Xerxes lead out of Asia against Greece? what stream, being drunk, did not fail him, except that of great rivers? Some supplied ships; others were ordered to furnish men for the infantry, from others cavalry were required, from others transports for horses, together with men to serve in the army; others had to furnish long ships for the bridges, and others provisions and vessels.

22. And first of all, as those who had first attempted to double Mount Athos had met with disasters, preparations were being made for nearly three years about Athos. For triremes were stationed at Eleus in the Chersonese, and proceeding from thence, men of every nation from the army dug under the lash; and they went in succession; and the people who dwelt round Athos dug also. Bubares, son of Megabazus, and Artachæus, son of Artæus, both Persians, presided over the work. Athos is a vast and celebrated mountain, stretching into the sea, and inhabited by men. Where the mountain terminates towards the continent, it is in the form of a peninsula, and is an isthmus of about twelve stades: this is a plain with hills of no great height from the sea of the Acanthians to the sea which is opposite Torone. On this isthmus, in which Mount Athos terminates, stands Sana, a Grecian city: but those within Sana and situate on Athos itself, which the Persian then was proceeding to make insular instead of continental, are the following, Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thysus, and Cleonæ. These are the cities which occupy Mount Athos. 23. They made the excavation as follows: the barbarians divided the ground among the several nations, having drawn a straight line near the city of Sana; and when the trench was deep, some standing at the bottom continued to dig, and others handed the soil that was dug out to men who stood above on ladders; they again in turn handed it to others, until they reached those that were at the top; these last carried it off and threw it away. To all the rest, except the Phœnicians, the brink of the excavation falling in gave double labour, for as they made the upper opening and the lower of

equal dimensions, this must necessarily happen. But the Phœnicians show their skill in other works, and especially *did so* in this; for having received the portion that fell to their share, they dug it, making the upper opening of the trench twice as large as it was necessary for the trench itself to be; and as the work proceeded they contracted it gradually, so that when they came to the bottom the work was equal in width to the rest: near adjoining is a meadow, where they had a market and bazaar, and great abundance of meal was brought to them from Asia. 24. According to my deliberate opinion,⁶ Xerxes ordered this excavation to be made from motives of ostentation, wishing to display his power, and to leave a memorial of himself. For though it was possible, without any great labour, to have drawn the ships over the isthmus, he commanded them to dig a channel for the sea of such a width that two triremes might pass through rowed abreast. And the same persons, to whom the excavation was committed, were ordered also to throw a bridge over the river Strymon. 25. These things, then, he thus contrived: he also caused cables of papyrus and of white flax to be prepared for the bridges, having ordered the Phœnicians and Egyptians also to lay up provisions for the army, that neither the men nor the beasts of burden might suffer from famine on their march towards Greece; and having informed himself of the situations of the places, he ordered them to lay up the provisions where it was most convenient, conveying them to various quarters in merchant-ships and transports from all parts of Asia. Of these provisions the largest quantity they conveyed to a place called Leuce-Acte, in Thrace; some were ordered to Tyrodiza of the Perinthians, others to Doriscus, others to Eion on the Strymon, and others to Macedonia.

26. While these men were employed in their appointed task, the whole land forces, having been assembled, marched with Xerxes to Sardis, having set out from Critalla in Capadocia, for it was ordered that all the troops throughout the continent, that were to march with Xerxes himself, should be assembled at that place. Now which of the generals, bringing the best appointed troops, received the gifts promised by the king, I am unable to mention; for I am not at all aware

⁶ Literally, "as I conjecturing discover."

that they came to any decision on this point. They then, when having crossed the river Halys they entered Phrygia, marching through that country, arrived at Celænæ, where rise the springs of the Mæander, and of another river not less than the Mæander, which is called the Catarractes, which, springing up in the very forum of the Celænians, discharges itself into the Mæander; in this city also the skin of Silenus Marsyas is suspended, which, as the Phrygians report, was stripped off and suspended by Apollo. 27. In this city Pythius, son of Atys, a Lydian, being in waiting, entertained the whole army of the king and Xerxes himself, with most sumptuous feasts; and he offered money, wishing to contribute towards the expense of the war. When Pythius offered money, Xerxes asked the Persians near him who this Pythius was, and what riches he possessed, that he made such an offer? They answered, "O king, this is the person who presented your father Darius with the golden plane-tree and the vine; and he is now the richest man we know of in the world, next to yourself." 28. Xerxes, surprised with these last words, next asked Pythius what might be the amount of his wealth. He said, "O king, I will not conceal it from you, nor will I pretend to be ignorant of my own substance, but as I know it perfectly I will tell you the exact truth. As soon as I heard you were coming down to the Grecian sea, wishing to present you with money for the war, I made inquiry, and found by computation that I had two thousand talents of silver, and of gold four millions of Daric staters, all but seven thousand. These I freely give you; for myself I have sufficient subsistence from my slaves and lands." 29. Thus he spoke; but Xerxes, delighted with his offer, replied: "My Lydian friend, since I left the Persian country I have met with no man to the present moment who was willing to entertain my army, or who, having come into my presence, has voluntarily offered to contribute money towards the war. But you have entertained my army magnificently, and have offered me vast sums; therefore, in return for this, I confer on you the following rewards: I make you my friend, and will make up the sum of four millions of staters from my own treasures, by adding the seven thousand; so that the four millions may not be short of seven thousand, but the full sum may be completed by me. Do you retain what you have acquired, and be careful always to con-

tinue such as you are ; for if you do this, you shall never repent, either now, or hereafter."

30. Having said this, and performed his promise, he continued his march : and passing by a city of the Phrygians, called Anaua, and a lake from which salt is obtained, he arrived at Colossæ, a considerable city of Phrygia, in which the river Lycus, falling into a chasm of the earth, disappears ; then reappearing after a distance of about five stades, it also discharges itself into the Mæander. From Colossæ the army, advancing towards the boundaries of the Phrygians and Lydians, arrived at the city of Cydrara, where a pillar, planted in the ground, and erected by Cræsus, indicates the boundaries by an inscription. 31. When from Phrygia he entered Lydia, the way dividing into two, that on the left leading to Caria, the other on the right to Sardis, by which latter a traveller is compelled to cross the river Mæander, and to pass by the city of Callatebus, in which confectioners make honey with tamarisk and wheat ; Xerxes, going by this way, met with a plane-tree, which, on account of its beauty, he presented with golden ornaments, and having committed it to the care of one of the immortals,⁷ on the next day he arrived at Sardis, the capital of the Lydians. 32. On his arrival at Sardis, he first of all sent heralds to Greece to demand earth and water, and to require them to provide entertainment for the king ; except that he did not send either to Athens or Lacedæmon,⁸ but he did to every other place. And he sent the second time for earth and water, for the following reason : such as had not given them before when Darius sent, he thought would then certainly do so through fear ; wishing therefore to know this for certain, he sent. And after this he prepared to march to Abydos.

33. In the mean while those who were appointed had joined the Hellespont from Asia to Europe. There is in the Chersonese on the Hellespont, between the city of Sestos and Madytus, a craggy shore extending into the sea, directly opposite Abydos : there, not long after these events, under Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, a general of the Athenians, having taken Artayctes, a Persian, governor of Sestos, they impaled him alive against a plank ; for he, having brought women into the temple

⁷ One of the ten thousand chosen men called immortals, of whom we shall hear more hereafter. See chap. 83.

⁸ See chap. 133.

of Protesilaus at Elæus, committed atrocious crimes.⁹ 34. To this shore, then, beginning at Abydos, they, on whom this task was imposed, constructed bridges, the Phœnicians one with white flax, and the Egyptians the other with papyrus. The distance from Abydos to the opposite shore is seven stades. When the strait was thus united, a violent storm arising, broke in pieces and scattered the whole work. 35. When Xerxes heard of this, being exceedingly indignant, he commanded that the Hellespont should be stricken with three hundred lashes with a scourge, and that a pair of fetters should be let down into the sea. I have moreover heard that with them he likewise sent branding instruments to brand the Hellespont. He certainly charged those who flogged the waters to utter these barbarous and impious words: "Thou bitter water! thy master inflicts this punishment upon thee, because thou hast injured him, although thou hadst not suffered any harm from him. And king Xerxes will cross over thee, whether thou wilt or not; it is with justice that no man sacrifices to thee, because thou art both a deceitful and briny river!" He accordingly commanded them to chastise the sea in this manner, and to cut off the heads of those who had to superintend the joining of the Hellespont. 36. They on whom this thankless office was imposed, carried it into execution; and other engineers constructed bridges; and they constructed them in the following manner. They connected together penteconters and triremes, under that towards the Euxine sea, three hundred and sixty; and under the other, three hundred and fourteen, obliquely in respect of the Pontus, but in the direction of the current in respect of the Hellespont, that it might keep up the tension of the cables. Having connected them together, they let down very long anchors, some on the one bridge towards the Pontus, on account of the winds that blew from it within; others on the other bridge towards the west and the Ægean, on account of the south and south-east winds. They left an opening as a passage through between the penteconters, and that in three places, that any one who wished might be able to sail into the Pontus in light vessels, and from the Pontus outwards. Having done this, they stretched the cables from the shore, twisting them with wooden capstans, not as before using the two kinds separately, but as-

⁹ See B. IX. chap. 116.

signing to each two of white flax and four of papyrus. The thickness and quality was the same, but those of flax were stronger in proportion, every cubit weighing a full talent. When the passage was bridged over, having sawn up trunks of trees, and having made them equal to the width of the bridge, they laid them regularly upon the extended cables; and having laid them in regular order, they then fastened them together. And having done this, they put brush-wood on the top; and having laid the brush-wood in regular order they put earth over the whole; and having pressed down the earth, they drew a fence on each side, that the beasts of burden and horses might not be frightened by looking down upon the sea.

37. When the works at the bridges were completed, and those at Mount Athos, as well as the mounds at the mouths of the canal, which had been made on account of the tide, in order that the mouths of the trench might not be choked up, and news was brought that the canal was entirely completed; thereupon the army, having wintered at Sardis, and being fully prepared, set out, at the beginning of the spring, from thence towards Abydos. But as it was on the point of setting out, the sun, quitting his seat in the heavens, disappeared, though there were no clouds, and the air was perfectly serene, and night ensued in the place of day. When Xerxes saw and perceived this, it occasioned him much uneasiness; he, therefore, inquired of the magi what the prodigy might portend. They answered, that "the deity foreshows to the Greeks the extinction of their cities;" adding, "that the sun is the portender of the future to the Greeks, and the moon to the Persians." Xerxes, having heard this, was much delighted, and set out upon his march. 38. As he was leading his army away, Pythius the Lydian, terrified by the prodigy in the heavens, and emboldened by the gifts, went to Xerxes the king, and spoke thus: "Sire, would you indulge me by granting a boon I should wish to obtain, which is easy for you to grant, and of great importance to me." Xerxes, expecting that he would wish for any thing rather than what he did ask, said that he would grant his request, and bade him declare what he wanted; whereupon he, when he heard this, spoke confidently as follows: "Sire, I have five sons; and it happens that they are all attending you in the expedition against

Greece. But do you, O king, pity me, who am thus advanced in years, and release one of my sons from the service, that he may take care of me and my property. Take the other four with you, and, having accomplished your designs, may you return home." 39. Xerxes was highly incensed, and answered as follows: "Base man! hast thou dared, when I am marching in person against Greece, and taking with me my children, and brothers, and kinsmen, and friends, to make mention of thy son? thou, who art my slave, and who wert bound in duty to follow me with all thy family, even with thy wife. Now learn this well, that the spirit of man dwells in his ears; which when it hears pleasing things, fills the whole body with delight, but when it hears the contrary, swells with indignation. When, therefore, you did well, and gave promise of the like, you cannot boast of having surpassed the king in generosity. But now that you have adopted a more shameless conduct, you shall not receive your deserts, but less than your deserts; for your hospitality preserves four of your children, but you shall be punished with the loss of the one whom you cherish most." When he had given this answer, he immediately commanded those whose office it was to execute such orders, to find out the eldest of the sons of Pythius, and to cut his body in two; and having so done, to deposit the halves, one on the right of the road, the other on the left; and that the army should pass between them.

40. When they had done this, the army afterwards passed between. The baggage-bearers and beasts of burden first led the way; after them *came* a host of all nations promiscuously, not distinguished: after more than one half of the army had passed, an interval was left, that they might not mix with the king's troops. Before him a thousand horsemen led the van, chosen from among all the Persians; and next to them a thousand spearmen, these also chosen from among all, carrying their lances turned downwards to the earth. After these *came* ten sacred horses called Nisæan, gorgeously caparisoned. These horses are called Nisæan on the following account: there is a large plain in the Medic territory, which is called the Nisæan; now this plain produces these large horses. Behind these ten horses was placed the sacred chariot of Jupiter, drawn by eight white horses; behind the horses followed a charioteer on foot, holding the reins; because no mortal ever

ascends this seat. Behind this *came* Xerxes himself on a chariot drawn by Nisæan horses; and a charioteer walked at his side, whose name was Patiramphes, son of Otanes, a Persian. 41. In this manner, then, Xerxes marched out of Sardis, and whenever he thought right, he used to pass from the chariot to a covered carriage. Behind him *marched* a thousand spearmen, the bravest and most noble of the Persians, carrying their spears in the usual manner; and after them another body of a thousand horse, chosen from among the Persians: after the cavalry *came* ten thousand men chosen from the rest of the Persians; these were infantry; and of these, one thousand had golden pomegranates on their spears instead of ferules, and they enclosed the others all round; but the nine thousand, being within them, had silver pomegranates. Those also that carried their spears turned to the earth, had golden pomegranates, and those that followed nearest to Xerxes had golden apples. Behind the ten thousand foot were placed ten thousand Persian cavalry; and after the cavalry was left an interval of two stades; and then the rest of the throng followed promiscuously. 42. The army directed its march from Lydia to the river Caicus and the Mysian territory; and proceeding from the Caicus, leaving Mount Canæ on the left, *passed* through Atarneus to the city Carina. From thence it marched through the plain of Thebes, and passing by the city of Adramyttium and the Pelasgian Antrandus, and keeping Mount Ida on the left, it entered the territory of Ilium. But before this, as the army halted during the night under Mount Ida, thunder and lightning fell upon them, and destroyed a considerable number of the troops on the spot. 43. When the army arrived at the Scamander, which was the first river since they had set out on their march from Sardis, whose stream failed and did not afford sufficient drink for the army and beasts of burden; when, accordingly, Xerxes arrived at this river, he went up to the Pergamus¹ of Priam, being desirous of seeing it; and having seen it, and inquired into every particular, he sacrificed a thousand oxen to the Ilian Minerva, and the magi poured out libations in honour of the heroes. After they had done this, a panic fell on the camp during the night, and at the dawn of day they marched from thence, on the left skirting

¹ That is, "the citadel."

the city of Rhoëtium, and Ophrynium, and Dardanus, which borders on Abydos ; and on the right the Gergithæ Teucrians.

44. When they were at Abydos, Xerxes wished to behold the whole army. And there had been previously erected on a hill at this place, for his express use, a lofty throne of white marble ; the people of Abydos had made it, in obedience to a previous order of the king. When he was seated there, looking down towards the shore, he beheld both the land army and the fleet ; and when he beheld them, he desired to see a contest take place between the ships ; and when it had taken place, and the Sidonian Phœnicians were victorious, he showed himself exceedingly gratified both with the contest and the army. 45. And when he saw the whole Hellespont covered by the ships, and all the shores and the plains of Abydos full of men, Xerxes thereupon pronounced himself happy ; but afterwards shed tears. 46. Artabanus, his paternal uncle, having observed him, the same who had before freely declared his opinion and advised Xerxes not to invade Greece ; this man, having perceived Xerxes shedding tears, addressed him thus : “ O king, how very different from each other are what you are now doing, and what you did a little while ago ! for having pronounced yourself happy, now you weep.” He answered, “ Commiseration seized me, when I considered how brief all human life is, since of these, numerous as they are, not one shall survive to the hundredth year.” But Artabanus replied, saying, “ We suffer during life other things more pitiable than this ; for in this so brief life, there is not one, either of these or of others, born so happy, that it will not occur to him, not only once but oftentimes, to wish rather to die than to live. For calamities befalling him, and diseases disturbing him, make life, though really short, appear to be long ; so that death, life being burdensome, becomes the most desirable refuge for man : and the deity, having given us to taste of sweet existence, is found to be jealous of his gift.” 47. Xerxes answered, saying, “ Artabanus, of human life, which is such as you have described it, let us say no more, nor let us call evils to mind, now that we have good things before us. But tell me this. If the vision of the dream had not appeared so clearly, would you have retained your former opinion, and dissuaded me from making war against Greece, or would you have changed your opinion ?

Come, tell me this explicitly." He answered, saying, "O king, may the vision of the dream that appeared terminate as we both desire: but I am still full of alarm and not master of myself, when I consider many other circumstances, and moreover perceive two things of the greatest importance, most hostile to you." 48. To this Xerxes answered as follows: "Strange man! what are these two things which you say are most hostile to me? whether do you find fault with the land army on account of numbers, and do you think that the Grecian army will be much more numerous than ours? or that our navy will fall short of theirs? or both these together? For if you think our forces deficient in this respect, we can quickly assemble another army." 49. He answered, saying, "O king, no man of common understanding can find fault either with this army or the number of the ships. (1.) But even if you should muster more, the two things which I mean would become still more hostile. These two things are land and sea. For, as I conjecture, there is no where any harbour of the sea so large as to be capable, in case a storm should arise, of receiving this your navy, and sheltering the ships. And yet there is need, not only that there be one such harbour, but *others* along the whole continent, by which you are about to coast. Since there are not harbours sufficiently capacious, remember, that accidents rule men, not men accidents. (2.) One of the two things having thus been mentioned, I now proceed to mention the other. The land will be hostile to you in this way: if nothing else should stand in your way, it will become more hostile to you the farther you advance, as you are continually drawn on unawares; for men are never satiated with success. And even if I should grant, that no one will oppose you, I say, that the country, becoming more extensive in process of time, will produce a famine. A man would therefore thus prove himself most wise, if in deliberation he should be apprehensive and consider himself likely to suffer every misfortune, but in action should be bold." 50. Xerxes answered in these words: "Artabanus, you have discussed each of these particulars plausibly; but do not fear every thing, nor weigh every circumstance with equal strictness. (1.) For if in every matter that is proposed, you should weigh every thing with equal care, you would never do any thing at all; it is better, being confident on all occasions, to

suffer half the evils, than fearing every thing before-hand, never suffer any thing at all. But if you oppose every thing that is proposed, and do not advance something certain, you must fail in your plans equally with the person who has given a contrary opinion. This, therefore, comes to the same. (2.) Can any one who is a man know for a certainty what ought to be done?² I think, certainly not. To those, however, who are ready to act, gain for the most part is wont to accrue; but to those that weigh every thing and are timid, it seldom does. You see to what a degree of power the empire of the Persians has advanced; if, then, they who were kings before me had entertained such opinions as you do, or not entertaining such opinions, had such counsellors, you would never have seen their power advanced to this pitch. But now, by hazard-ing dangers, they carried it to this height. For great undertakings are wont to be accomplished at great hazards. We, therefore, emulating them, set out at the most favourable season of the year, and having subdued all Europe, will return home, without having met with famine any where, or suffered any other reverse. For in the first place we march, carrying with us abundant provisions, and in the next place, whatever land and nation we invade, we shall have their corn; and we are making war on men who are husbandmen, and not feeders of cattle.” 51. After this Artabanus said, “O king, since you will not allow us to fear any thing, yet hearken to my advice; for it is necessary, when speaking on many topics, to extend one’s discourse. Cyrus, son of Cambyses, subdued all Ionia except the Athenians, so as to be tributary to the Persians. I advise you, therefore, on no account to lead these men against their fathers; for even without them we are able to get the better of our enemies. For if they accompany you, they must either be most unjust, in assisting to enslave their mother-city, or most just in endeavouring to maintain its freedom. Now if they should be most unjust, they will not add any great gain to us; but if just, they are able to damage your army to a great degree. Consider therefore on this ancient saying, since it has been well said, that the termination is not always evident at the beginning. 52. To this Xerxes an-

² I have followed the reading and punctuation of Matthiæ and Baehr. The latter, though he approves the mark of interrogation, omits it in his version of this passage.

swered : “ Artabanus, of all the opinions you have given, you are deceived most in this, in fearing lest the Ionians should desert us ; of whom we have the strongest proofs, and of whom you are a witness, as well as all the rest who accompanied Darius in his expedition against the Scythians, that the whole Persian army was in their power to destroy or to save, yet they evinced justice and fidelity, and *committed* nothing ungrateful. Besides this, since they have left their children, and wives, and possessions in our territories, we must not expect that they will form any new design. Do not therefore fear this, but be of good courage, and preserve my house and my government ; for to you alone, of all men, I intrust my sceptre.”

53. Having spoken thus, and despatched Artabanus to Susa, Xerxes again summoned the most distinguished of the Persians, and when they were assembled he addressed them as follows : “ O Persians, I have called you together to desire this of you, that you would acquit yourselves like brave men, and not disgrace the former exploits of the Persians, which are great and memorable. But let each and all of us together show our zeal ; for this which we are endeavouring to accomplish is a good common to all. On this account, then, I call on you to apply yourselves earnestly to the war ; for, as I am informed, we are marching against brave men ; and if we conquer them, no other army in the world will dare to oppose us. Now, then, let us cross over, having first offered up prayers to the gods who protect the Persian territory.” 54. That day they made preparations for the passage over ; and on the following they waited for the sun, as they wished to see it rising, in the mean time burning all sorts of perfumes on the bridges, and strewing the road with myrtle branches. When the sun rose, Xerxes, pouring a libation into the sea out of a golden cup, offered up a prayer to the sun, that no such accident might befall him as would prevent him from subduing Europe, until he had reached its utmost limits. After having prayed, he threw the cup into the Hellespont, and a golden bowl, and a Persian sword, which they call *acinace*. But I cannot determine with certainty, whether he dropped these things into the sea as an offering to the sun, or whether he repented of having scourged the Hellespont, and presented these gifts to the sea as a compensation. 55. When these ceremonies were finished, the infantry and all the cavalry crossed over by that bridge

which was towards the Pontus ; and the beasts of burden and attendants by that towards the Ægean. First of all the ten thousand Persians led the van, all wearing crowns ; and after them the promiscuous host of all nations. These crossed on that day. On the following, first the horsemen, and those who carried their lances downwards, these also wore crowns : next came the sacred horses and the sacred chariot ; afterwards Xerxes himself, and the spearmen, and the thousand horsemen ; after them the rest of the army closed the march ; and at the same time the ships got under weigh to the opposite shore. I have also heard that Xerxes crossed over last of all. 56. Xerxes, when he had crossed over into Europe, saw the army crossing over under the lash : his army crossed over in seven days and seven nights without halting at all. On this occasion it is related, that when Xerxes had crossed over the Hellespont, a certain Hellespontine said : “ O Jupiter, why, assuming the form of a Persian, and taking the name of Xerxes, do you wish to subvert Greece, bringing all mankind with you ? since without them it was in your power to do this.”

57. When all had crossed over, and were proceeding on their march, a great prodigy appeared to them, which Xerxes took no account of, although it was easy to be interpreted. A mare foaled a hare : this, then, might easily have been interpreted thus, that Xerxes was about to lead an army into Greece with exceeding pomp and magnificence, but would return to the same place running for his life. Another prodigy had also happened, while he was at Sardis ; a mule brought forth a colt, with double parts, both those of a male and those of a female ; those of the male were uppermost. 58. But taking no account of either of these, he proceeded forward ; and with him the land forces. But the fleet, sailing out of the Hellespont, stood along by the land, taking a contrary course to that of the army. For it sailed towards the west, steering for cape Sarpedon, where, on its arrival, it was ordered to wait : but the army on the continent marched towards the east and the rising sun, through the Chersonese, having on the right hand the sepulchre of Helle, daughter of Athamas, and on the left the city of Cardia, and going through the middle of a city, the name of which happened to be Agora ; and from thence, bending round a bay called Melas, and hav-

ing come to the river Melas, whose stream did not suffice for the army, but failed,—having crossed this river, from which the bay derives its name, they marched westward, passing by Ænos, an Æolian city, and the lake Stentoris, until they reached Doriscus. 59. Doriscus is a shore and extensive plain of Thrace. Through it flows a large river, the Hebrus. On it a royal fort had been built, the same that is now called Doriscus, and a Persian garrison had been established in it by Darius, from the time that he marched against the Scythians. This place therefore appeared to Xerxes to be convenient for reviewing and numbering his army; this he accordingly did. All the ships therefore having arrived at Doriscus, the captains, at the command of Xerxes, brought them to the shore adjoining Doriscus. On this coast stood Sala, a Samothracian city, and Zonà; and at its extremity Serrhium, a celebrated promontory: this region formerly belonged to the Ciconians. Having steered to this shore, they hauled up the ships and repaired them; and in the mean time Xerxes numbered his army at Doriscus. 60. How great a number of men each contributed, I am unable to say with certainty; for it is not mentioned by any one; but the amount of the whole land-forces was found to be seventeen hundred thousand. They were computed in this manner: having drawn together ten thousand men in one place, and having crowded them as close together as it was possible, they traced a circle on the outside; and having traced it, and removed the ten thousand, they threw up a stone fence on the circle, reaching to the height of a man's navel. Having done this, they made others enter within the enclosed space, until they had in this manner computed all; and having numbered them, they drew out according to nations.

61. Those who served in this expedition were the following. The Persians, equipped as follows: on their heads they wore loose coverings, called tiaras; on the body various-coloured sleeved breastplates, with iron scales like those of fish; and on their legs, loose trowsers; and instead of shields, bucklers made of osiers; and under them their quivers were hung. They had short spears, long bows, and arrows made of cane; and besides, daggers suspended from the girdle on the right thigh. They had for their general, Otanes, father of Amestris, wife of Xerxes. They were formerly called Cephenes by the Grecians, but by themselves and neighbours, Artæans: but

when Perseus, son of Danae and Jupiter, came to Cepheus, son of Belus, and married his daughter Andromeda, he had a son to whom he gave the name of Perses; and him he left in the country, for Cepheus had no male offspring; from him therefore they derived their appellation. 62. The Medes marched equipped in the same manner as the Persians; for the above is a Medic and not a Persian costume. The Medes had for their general, Tigranes, of the family of the Achæmenidæ: they were formerly called Arians by all nations; but when Medea of Colchis came from Athens to these Arians, they also changed their names: the Medes themselves give this account of their nation. The Cissians, who served in the army, were in other respects accoutred like the Persians, except that, instead of turbans, they wore mitres. Anaphes, son of Otanes, commanded the Cissians. The Hyrcanians were also armed like the Persians, and had for their general, Megapanus, who was afterwards governor of Babylon. 63. The Assyrians who served in the army had helmets of brass, twisted in a barbarous fashion, not easy to be described; and they had shields and spears, and daggers similar to those of the Egyptians; and besides, wooden clubs knotted with iron, and linen cuirasses. By the Greeks they were called Syrians, but by the barbarians, Assyrians. Among them were the Chaldeans; and Otaspes son of Artachæus commanded them. 64. The Bactrians joined the army, having turbans on their heads, very much like those of the Medes, and bows made of cane peculiar to their country, and short spears. The Sacæ, who are Scythians, had on their heads caps, which came to a point and stood erect: they also wore loose trowsers, and carried bows peculiar to their country, and daggers, and also battle-axes, *called sagares*. These, though they are Amyrgian Scythians, they called Sacæ, for the Persians call all the Scythians Sacæ. Hystaspes, son of Darius and Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, commanded the Bactrians and Sacæ. 65. The Indians, clad with garments made of cotton, had bows of cane, and arrows of cane tipped with iron. Thus the Indians were equipped; and they were marshalled under the command of Phanazathres, son of Artabates. 66. The Arians were furnished with Medic bows; and in other respects *were accoutred* like the Bactrians. Sisamnes, son of Hydarnes, commanded the Arians. The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarians, and Dadicæ, joined

the army, having the same accoutrements as the Bactrians. The following leaders commanded them. Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, *commanded* the Parthians and Chorasmians; Azanes, son of Artæus, the Sogdians; and Artyphius, son of Artabanus, the Gandarians and Dadicæ. 67. The Caspians, clothed in goat-skin mantles, and carrying bows made of cane peculiar to their country, and scimetars, joined the expedition. These were thus equipped, having for their general, Ariomardus, brother of Artyphius. The Sarangæ were conspicuous by having dyed garments; they also wore buskins reaching up to the knee, and had bows and Medic javelins. Pherendates, son of Megabazus, commanded the Sarangæ. The Pactyes also wore goat-skin mantles, and had bows peculiar to the country and daggers. The Pactyes had for their general, Artyntes, son of Ithamatres. 68. The Utians, Mycians, and Paricanians were equipped like the Pactyes. The following leaders commanded them. Arsamenes, son of Darius, led the Utians and Mycians; and Siromitres, son of Œobazus, the Paricanians. 69. The Arabians wore cloaks fastened by a girdle; and carried on their right sides long bows which bent backwards. The Ethiopians were clothed in panthers' and lions' skins, and carried long bows, not less than four cubits in length, made from branches of the palm-tree; and on them *they placed* short arrows made of cane; instead of iron, tipped with a stone, which was made sharp, and of that sort on which they engrave seals. Besides they had javelins, and at the tip was an antelope's horn, made sharp, like a lance; they had also knotted clubs. When they were going to battle, they smeared one half of their body with chalk, and the other half with red ochre. The Arabians and Ethiopians who dwell above Egypt, were commanded by Arsames, son of Darius and Artystone, daughter of Cyrus, whom Darius loved more than all his wives, and whose image he had made of beaten gold. 70. The Ethiopians from the sun-rise (for two kinds served in the expedition) were marshalled with the Indians, and did not at all differ from the others in appearance, but only in their language, and their hair. For the eastern Ethiopians are straight-haired; but those of Libya have hair more curly than that of any other people. These Ethiopians from Asia were accoutred almost the same as the Indians; but they wore on their heads skins of horses' heads, as masks, stripped off

with the ears and mane ; and the mane served instead of a crest, and the horses' ears were fixed erect ; and as defensive armour they used the skins of cranes instead of shields. 71. The Libyans marched, clad in leathern garments, and made use of javelins hardened by fire. They had for their general, Massages, son of Oarizus. 72. The Paphlagonians joined the expedition, wearing on their heads plaited helmets, and carried small shields, and not large spears ; and besides, javelins and daggers : and on their feet they wore boots, peculiar to their country, reaching up to the middle of the leg. The Ligyes and the Matienians, the Mariandynians and Syrians, marched in the same dress as the Paphlagonians. These Syrians are called by the Persians, Cappadocians. Now Dotus, son of Megasidrus, commanded the Paphlagonians and Matienians ; and Gobryas, son of Darius and Artystone, the Mariandynians, Ligyes, and Syrians. 73. The Phrygians had very nearly the same dress as that of Paphlagonia, varying it a little. The Phrygians, as the Macedonians say, were called Briges, as long as they were Europeans, and dwelt with the Macedonians ; but having passed over into Asia, they changed their name with their country, into that of Phrygians. The Armenians, being colonists of the Phrygians, were equipped like the Phrygians. Artochmes, who had married a daughter of Darius, commanded both these. 74. The Lydians had arms very like the Grecian. The Lydians were formerly called Meïonians ; but took their appellation from Lydus the son of Atys, having changed their name. The Mysians wore on their heads a helmet peculiar to their country, and small shields ; and they used javelins hardened by fire. They are colonists of the Lydians, and from the mountain Olympus are called Olympieni. Artaphernes, son of Artaphernes, who invaded Marathon with Datis, commanded the Lydians and Mysians. 75. The Thracians joined the expedition, having fox-skins on their heads, and tunics around their body, and over them they were clothed with various-coloured cloaks, and on their feet and legs they had buskins of fawn-skin, and besides they had javelins, light bucklers, and small daggers. These people having crossed over into Asia, were called Bithynians ; but formerly, as they themselves say, were called Strymonians, as they dwelt on the river Strymon : they say that they were removed from their original settlements by the

Teucrians and Mysians. Bassaces, son of Artabanus, commanded the Thracians of Asia. 76. The * * * * *³ had small shields made of raw hides, and each had two javelins used for hunting wolves, and on their heads brazen helmets; and in addition to the helmets they wore the ears and horns of an ox in brass. And over these were crests; and as to their legs, they were enwrapped in pieces of purple cloth. Among these people there is an oracle of Mars. 77. The Cabalian Meïonians, who are also called Lasonians, had the same dress as the Cilicians; which I shall describe when I come to speak of the army of the Cilicians. The Milyæ had short lances, and their garments were fastened by clasps. Some of them had Lycian bows, and on their heads helmets made of tanned skins. Badres, son of Hystanes, commanded all these. 78. The Moschians had on their heads wooden helmets, and small bucklers, and spears; but there were large points *on the spears*. The Tibarenians, Macrones, and Mosynœci joined the expedition equipped as the Moschians. The following generals marshalled these: the Moschians and Tibarenians, Ariomardus, son of Darius and Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus; the Macrones and Mosynœci, Artayctes, son of Cherasmis, who was intrusted with the government of Ses-tos on the Hellespont. 79. The Mares wore helmets on their heads, painted after the manner of their country; and small shields made of skin, and javelins. The Colchians had about their heads wooden helmets, and small shields of raw hides, and short lances; and besides they had swords. Pherendates, son of Teaspes, commanded the Mares and Colchians. The Alarodi and the Saspies marched armed like the Colchians; Masistius, son of Siromitres, commanded them. 80. The insular nations that came from the Erythræan Sea, and from the islands in which the king makes those dwell who are called "the banished," had clothing and arms very similar to the Medic. Mardontes, son of Bagæus, who, when commanding the army at Mycale, two years after this, died in battle, commanded these islanders.

81. These were the nations that marched on the continent, and composed the infantry. They, then, who have been mentioned commanded this army, and these were they who set in

³ There is an hiatus in the manuscripts, which the ingenuity of annotators and editors has been unable to supply.

order, and numbered them, and appointed commanders of thousands and of ten thousands. But the commanders of ten thousands *appointed* the captains of hundreds and captains of tens. There were other subaltern officers over the troops and nations, but those who have been mentioned were the commanders. 82. Over these and the whole infantry were appointed as generals, Mardonius, son of Gobryas; Tritan-tæchmes, son of Artabanus, who gave his opinion against the invasion of Greece; Smerdomenes, son of Otanes; (both these were sons to brothers of Darius, and cousins to Xerxes;) Masistes, son of Darius and Atossa; Gergis, son of Arizus; and Megabyzus, son of Zopyrus. 83. These were generals of the whole land-forces, except the ten thousand; of these ten thousand chosen Persians, Hydarnes, son of Hydarnes, was general. These Persians were called Immortal, for the following reason: if any one of them made a deficiency in the number, compelled either by death or disease, another was ready chosen to supply his place; so that they were never either more or less than ten thousand. The Persians displayed the greatest splendour of all, and were also the bravest; their equipment was such as has been described; but besides this, they were conspicuous from having a great profusion of gold. They also brought with them covered chariots, and concubines in them, and a numerous and well-equipped train of attendants. Camels and other beasts of burden conveyed their provisions, apart from that of the rest of the soldiers.

84. All these nations have cavalry; they did not, however, all furnish horse, but only the following. First, the Persians, equipped in the same manner as their infantry, except that on their heads some of them wore brazen and wrought steel ornaments. 85. There is a certain nomadic race, called Sagar-tians, of Persian extraction and language, they wear a dress fashioned between the Persian and the Pactyan fashion; they furnished eight thousand horse, but they are not accustomed to carry arms either of brass or iron, except daggers: they use ropes made of twisted thongs; trusting to these they go to war. The mode of fighting of these men is as follows: when they engage with the enemy they throw out the ropes, which have nooses at the end, and whatever any one catches, whether horse or man, he drags towards himself; and they that are entangled in the coils are put to death. This is their

mode of fighting; and they were marshalled with the Persians. 86. The Medes had the same equipment as that used in the infantry; and the Cissians in like manner. The Indians were also equipped like their infantry, but they used saddle-horses and chariots; and in their chariots they yoked horses and wild asses. The Bactrians were equipped in the same manner as their infantry, and the Caspians likewise. The Libyans too *were accoutred* like their infantry; but they all drove chariots. In like manner the Caspiri and Paricanii were equipped in the same way as their infantry. And the Arabians had the same dress as their infantry, but all rode camels not inferior to horses in speed. 87. These nations only furnished cavalry. The number of the horse amounted to eighty thousand, besides the camels and chariots. All the rest of the cavalry were marshalled in troops; but the Arabians were stationed in the rear: for as horses cannot endure camels, they were stationed behind, that the horses might not be frightened. 88. Armamithres and Tithæus, sons of Datis, were generals of the cavalry. Their third colleague in command, Pharnuches, had been left at Sardis sick. For as they were setting out from Sardis he met with a sad accident. For when he was mounted, a dog ran under the legs of his horse, and the horse, not being aware of it, was frightened, and rearing up, threw Pharnuches; upon which he, having fallen, vomited blood, and the disease turned to a consumption. With respect to the horse, his servants immediately did as he ordered; for leading him to the place where he had thrown his master, they cut off his legs at the knees. Thus Pharnuches was deprived of the command.

89. The number of the triremes amounted to twelve hundred and seven; the following nations furnished them. The Phœnicians, with the Syrians of Palestine, *furnished* three hundred, being thus equipped: on their heads they had helmets, made very nearly after the Grecian fashion; and clothed in linen breastplates, they carried shields without rims, and javelins. These Phœnicians, as they themselves say, anciently dwelt on the Red Sea; and having crossed over from thence, they settled on the sea-coast of Syria; this part of Syria, and the whole as far as Egypt, is called Palestine. The Egyptians contributed two hundred ships. These had on their heads plaited helmets, and *carried* hollow shields, with large rims,

and pikes fit for a sea-fight, and large hatchets. The greater part of them had breastplates, and carried large swords. 90. The Cyprians contributed a hundred and fifty ships, and were equipped as follows: their kings had their heads wrapped in turbans; the rest wore tunics, and were in other respects attired like the Greeks. Of these there are the following nations, some from Salamis and Athens; others from Arcadia; others from Cythnus; others from Phœnicia; and others from Ethiopia, as the Cyprians themselves say. 91. The Cilicians contributed a hundred ships. These, again, wore on their heads helmets peculiar to their country, and had bucklers instead of shields, made of raw hides, and were clothed in woollen tunics; every one had two javelins, and a sword made very much like the Egyptian scimetars. They were anciently called Hypachæans, and took their present name from Cilix, son of Agenor, a Phœnician. The Pamphylians contributed thirty ships, and were equipped in Grecian armour. These Pamphylians are descended from those who, in their return from Troy, were dispersed with Amphiloehus and Calchas. 92. The Lycians contributed fifty ships, and wore breastplates and greaves. They had bows made of cornel-wood, and cane arrows without feathers, and javelins; and besides, goat-skins were suspended over their shoulders; and round their heads caps encircled with feathers; they had also daggers and falchions. The Lycians were called Termilæ, being sprung from Crete, but took their present name from Lycus, son of Pandion, an Athenian. 93. The Dorians of Asia contributed thirty ships, wearing Grecian armour, and sprung from the Peloponnesus. The Carians contributed seventy ships, and were in other respects accounted like the Greeks, but had falchions and daggers. What these were formerly called I have mentioned in the first part⁴ of my history. 94. The Ionians contributed a hundred ships, and were equipped as Greeks. The Ionians, as long as they inhabited that part of the Peloponnesus which is now called Achaia, and before Danaus and Xuthus arrived in the Peloponnesus, as the Greeks say, were called Pelasgian Ægialees; but Ionians from Ion, son of Xuthus. 95. The Islanders contributed seventeen ships, and were armed like the Greeks. This race is also Pelasgic, but was afterwards called Ionian for the same reason as the Ionians of the twelve cities, who came

⁴ See B. I. chap. 171.

from Athens. The Æolians contributed sixty ships, and were equipped like the Greeks; they were anciently called Pelasgians, as the Grecians say. The Hellespontines, except those of Abydos, for the people of Abydos were ordered by the king to stay at home and guard the bridges,—the rest, however, who joined the expedition from the Pontus, contributed a hundred ships; they were equipped like the Greeks: these are colonists of the Ionians and Dorians.

96. Persians, Medes, and Sacæ served as marines on board all the ships. Of these the Phœnicians furnished the best sailing ships, and of the Phœnicians the Sidonians. Over all these, as well as over those that formed the land-army, native officers were appointed to each; but I do not mention their names, for I am not necessarily constrained to do so for the purpose of the history; nor were the officers of each nation worthy of mention; and in each nation, as many as the cities were, so many were the leaders. They did not, however, follow in the quality of generals, but like the other subjects who joined the expedition. Moreover the generals, who had all the power, and were the commanders of the several nations, such of them as were Persians have been already mentioned by me.

97. The following were admirals of the navy: Ariabignes, son of Darius; Prexaspes, son of Aspathines; Megabazus, son of Megabates; and Achæmenes, son of Darius: of the Ionian and Carian force, Ariabignes, son of Darius and the daughter of Gobryas; Achæmenes, who was brother to Xerxes on both sides, commanded the Egyptians; and the other two commanded the rest of the fleet. Triëconters, penteconters, light boats, and long horse transports were found to assemble to the number of three thousand. 98. Of those who served in the fleet, the following, next to the admirals, were the most illustrious; Tetramnestus, son of Anysus, a Sidonian; Mapen, son of Siromus, a Tyrian; Merbalus, son of Agbalus, an Aridian; Syennesis, son of Oromedon, a Cilician; Cyberniscus, son of Sicas, a Lycian; Gorgus, son of Chersis, and Timonax, son of Timagoras, Cyprians; and of the Carians, Histæus, son of Tymnes; Pygres, son of Seldomus, and Damasithymus, son of Candaules. 99. Of the other captains I make no mention, as I deem it unnecessary, except of Artemisia, whom I most admire, as having, though a woman, joined this expedition against Greece; who, her husband being dead, herself hold-

ing the sovereignty while her son was under age, joined the expedition from a feeling of courage and manly spirit, though there was no necessity for her doing so. Her name was Artemisia, and she was the daughter of Lygdamis, and by birth she was of Halicarnassus on her father's side, and on her mother's a Cretan. She commanded the Halicarnassians, the Coans, the Nisyrians, and the Calyndnians, having contributed five ships: and of the whole fleet, next to the Sidonians, she furnished the most renowned ships, and of all the allies, gave the best advice to the king. The cities which I have mentioned as being under her command, I pronounce to be all of Doric origin; the Halicarnassians being Trœzenians, and the rest Epidaurians. Thus far the naval armament has been spoken of.

100. Xerxes, when he had numbered his forces, and the army was drawn up, desired to pass through and inspect them in person. Accordingly he did so, and driving through on a chariot, by each separate nation, he made inquiries, and his secretaries wrote down the answers; until he had gone from one extremity to the other, both of the horse and foot. When he had finished this, and the ships had been launched into the sea, Xerxes thereupon removing from his chariot to a Sidonian ship, sat under a gilded canopy, and then sailed by the prows of the ships, asking questions of each, as he had done with the land-forces, and having the answers written down. The captains of the ships having drawn their vessels about four plethra from the beach, lay to, all having turned their ships frontwise to land, and having armed the marines as if for a battle; but Xerxes, sailing between the prows and the beach, inspected them.

101. When he had sailed through them, and had landed from the ship, he sent for Demaratus, son of Ariston, who accompanied him in the expedition against Greece; and having called him, he addressed him thus: "Demaratus, it is now my pleasure to ask of you certain questions that I wish. You are a Greek, and, as I am informed by you, and other Greeks who have conversed with me, of a city neither the least nor the weakest. Now, therefore, tell me this, whether the Grecians will venture to lift their hands against me: for, as I think, if all the Grecians, and all the rest of the nations that dwell towards the west, were collected together, they would

not be able to withstand my attack, unless they were united together. However, I am desirous to know what you say on this subject." Such was the question he asked; but Demaratus answering said, "O king, whether shall I speak truth to you, or what is pleasing?" He bade him speak truth, assuring him that he would not be at all less agreeable than he was before. 102. When Demaratus heard this, he spoke thus: "O king, since you positively require me to speak truth, I will say such things, as whoever should utter them, would not hereafter be convicted of falsehood. Poverty has ever been familiar to Greece, but virtue has been acquired, having been accomplished by wisdom and firm laws; by the aid of which, Greece has warded off poverty and tyranny. I commend, indeed, all those Greeks who dwell round those Doric lands; but I shall now proceed to speak, not of all, but of the Lacedæmonians only. In the first place, *I say* it is not possible that they should ever listen to your proposals, which bring slavery on Greece: secondly, that they will meet you in battle, even if all the rest of the Greeks should side with you. With respect to their number, you need not ask how many they are, that they are able to do this; for whether a thousand men, or more, or even less, should have marched out, they will certainly give you battle." 103. Xerxes, having heard this, replied, "Demaratus, what have you said? that a thousand men will fight with such an army as this? Come, tell me, you say that you were yourself king of these men? Are you, then, willing on the spot to fight with ten men? And yet if all your citizens are such as you represent, you, who are their king, ought by your own institutions to be matched against twice that number; for if each of them is a match for ten men in my army, I expect that you should be a match for twenty, so the opinion you have given utterance to would prove correct. But if, being such as yourself, and of the same stature as you and other Greeks who have conversed with me, ye boast so much, beware that the opinion you have uttered be not an idle vaunt. For come, let us consider every probability: how could a thousand men, or even ten thousand, or even fifty thousand, being all equally free, and not subject to the command of a single person, resist such an army as this? for if they are five thousand, we are more than a thousand against one. Were they, indeed, according

to our custom, subject to the command of a single person, they might, through fear of him, prove superior to their natural courage; and, compelled by the lash, might, though fewer, attack a greater number: but now, being left to their own free-will, they will do nothing of the kind. And I am of opinion, that even if they were equal in numbers, the Grecians would hardly contend with the Persians alone. For the valour that you speak of, exists amongst us; it is not, however, common, but rare. For there are Persians among my body-guards, who would readily encounter three Greeks at once; and you, having no experience of these men, talk very idly." 104. To this Demaratus replied, "O king, I knew from the first, that by adhering to the truth, I should not say what would be agreeable to you; but since you constrained me to speak the exact truth, I told you the real character of the Spartans. However, you yourself well know how tenderly I must love them, who, after they had deprived me of my paternal honours and dignity, have made me citiless and an exile; but your father, having received me, gave me maintenance and a home: it is not probable therefore that a prudent man should repel manifest benevolence, but should by all means cherish it. For my part, I do not pretend to be able to fight with ten men, nor with two; nor would I willingly fight with one. But if there was any necessity, or any great stake to rouse me, I would most willingly fight with one of those men, who pretend to be singly a match for three Grecians. In like manner the Lacedæmonians in single combat are inferior to none; but together are the bravest of all men. For though free, they are not absolutely free; for they have a master over them, the law, which they fear much more than your subjects do you. They do, accordingly, whatever it enjoins; and it ever enjoins the same thing, forbidding them to fly from battle before any number of men, but to remain in their ranks, and conquer or die. If I appear to you, in saying this, to talk idly, I will for the future observe silence on this subject, and now I have spoken through compulsion; however, may events, O king, turn out according to your wish."

105. Such was the reply he made. But Xerxes turned it into ridicule, and evinced no anger, but dismissed him kindly. Xerxes, having held this conversation, and appointed Mas-

came, son of Megadostes, to be governor of this Doriscus, and having deposed the person placed there by Darius, marched his army through Thrace towards Greece. 106. Mascames, whom he left, proved so excellent a man, that Xerxes used to send presents every year to him alone, as being the best of all the governors whom either he or Darius had appointed ; and he used to send them every year ; as did also Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, to the descendants of Mascames. For even before this expedition governors had been appointed in Thrace, and throughout the Hellespont. Now all these, both in Thrace and on the Hellespont, except the one in Doriscus, were driven out by the Greeks after this invasion ; but none were able to drive out Mascames, who was in Doriscus, though many made the attempt. On this account presents are sent to his family by the reigning king of Persia. 107. But of all those who were driven out by the Greeks, king Xerxes thought no one had behaved himself with courage except Boges, who was governor of Eion. Him he never ceased praising, and conferred the highest honours on his sons who survived in Persia. And indeed Boges deserved great praise ; for when he was besieged by the Athenians under Cimon, son of Miltiades, and might have marched out by capitulation and returned to Asia, he would not do so, lest the king should think he saved his life through cowardice ; but he held out to the last. And when there was no longer any food in the fort, having raised a great pile, he slew his children and wife, and concubines and servants, and then threw their bodies into the fire ; after this he cast all the gold and silver that was in the tower, from the fort into the Strymon ; and having done this, he threw himself into the fire. So that he is with justice commended by the Persians even to this day.

108. Xerxes set out from Doriscus towards Greece, and compelled such nations as he met with to join his army. For, as I before observed,⁵ the whole country as far as Thessaly had been brought to subjection, and made tributary to the king, Megabazus, and afterwards Mardonius, having subdued it. In his march from Doriscus, he first passed the Samothracian fortresses ; the last of which is situate towards the west, and is a city called Mesambria ; near this is Stryme, a city of the Thasians. Between these two places the river Lissus flows ;

⁵ See B. V. ch. 12, 15 ; and B. VI. ch. 43—45.

which did not supply sufficient water for the army of Xerxes, but failed. This country was anciently called Gallaica, but now Briantica; in strict right, however, it belongs to the Ciconians.

109. Xerxes having crossed the dried-up channel of the river Lissus, passed by the following Grecian cities, Maronea, Dicæa, and Abdera; he accordingly went by these, and near them, the following celebrated lakes; the Ismaris, situate between Maronea and Stryme; and Bistonis, near Dicæa, into which two rivers empty their water, the Travus and Compasus. Near Abdera Xerxes passed by no celebrated lake, but the river Nestus, which flows into the sea. After these places he passed in his march by several continental cities; in one of which is a lake about thirty stades in circumference; it abounds in fish, and is very brackish. The beasts of burden alone, being watered there, dried this up. The name of this city is Pistyrus. These cities, then, maritime and Grecian, he passed by, leaving them on the left hand. 110. The nations of Thrace, through whose country he marched, are these; the Pæti, Ciconians, Bistonians, Sapæi, Dersæi, Edoni, and Satræ. Of these, such as dwelt near the sea attended him with their ships; and such as dwelt inland, who have been enumerated by me, all, except the Satræ, were compelled to follow by land. 111. The Satræ, as far as we are informed, were never subject to any man, but alone, of all the Thracians, have continued free to this day. For they inhabit lofty mountains, covered with all kinds of wood and snow, and are courageous in war. These are the people that possess an oracle of Bacchus; this oracle is on the highest range of their mountains. The Bessi are those among the Satræ who interpret the oracles of the temple; a priestess delivers them, as in Delphi, and they are not at all more ambiguous. 112. Xerxes, having traversed the country that has been mentioned, after this passed by the forts of the Pierians, one of which is called Phagres, and the other Pergamus: here he marched close to the very forts, keeping on his right hand Mount Pangæus, which is vast and lofty, and in it are gold and silver mines, which the Pierians and Odomanti, and especially the Satræ, work. 113. Passing by the Pæonians, Doberes, and Pæoplæ, who dwell above Pangæus to the north, he went westward, till he arrived at the river Strymon, and the city of Eion; of which Boges,

whom I have lately mentioned,⁶ being still alive, was governor. The land itself, which is about Mount Pangæus, is called Phillis, extending westward to the river Angites, which falls into the Strymon; and on the south, reaching to the Strymon itself, which the magi propitiated by sacrificing white horses to it. 114. Having used these enchantments to the river, and many others besides, they marched by the Nine Ways of the Edonians to the bridges, and found the banks of the Strymon united by a bridge.⁷ But being informed that this place was called the Nine Ways, they buried alive in it so many sons and daughters of the inhabitants. It is a Persian custom to bury people alive; for I have heard that Amestris, wife of Xerxes, having grown old, caused fourteen children of the best families in Persia to be buried alive, to show her gratitude to the god who is said to be beneath the earth.

115. When the army marched from the Strymon, there is a shore towards the sun-set on which it passed by a Grecian city called Argilus; this and the country above it is called Bisaltia: from thence keeping the bay near the temple of Neptune on the left hand, it went through what is called the plain of Syleus; and passing by Stagirus, a Grecian city, arrived at Acanthus; taking with them each of the above nations, and those that dwell round Mount Pangæus, as well as those which I have before enumerated; having those that dwelt near the sea to serve on shipboard, and those above the sea to follow on foot. This road, along which king Xerxes marched his army, the Thracians neither disturb nor sow, but regard it with great veneration even to my time. 116. When he arrived at Acanthus, the Persian enjoined the Acanthians to show them hospitality, and presented them with a Medic dress, and commended them, seeing them ready for the war, and hearing of the excavation at *Mount Athos*.⁸ 117. While Xerxes was at Acanthus, it happened that Artachæes, who had superintended the canal, died of disease; he was much esteemed by Xerxes, and was of the race of the Achæmenidæ, and in stature the tallest of the Persians, for he wanted only four fingers of five royal cubits; and he had the loudest voice

⁶ Chap. 107.

⁷ See chap. 24.

⁸ See chap. 22. The Acanthians, who bordered on Mount Athos, had, probably, facilitated the work.

of any man, so that Xerxes, considering his loss very great, had him carried to the grave and buried him with great pomp ; and the whole army raised up a mound for his sepulchre. To this Artachæes the Acanthians, in obedience to an oracle, offer sacrifice as to a hero, invoking him by name. King Xerxes therefore, when Artachæes died, considered it a great loss. 118. Those of the Grecians who received the army and entertained Xerxes, were reduced to extreme distress, so that they were obliged to abandon their homes ; since Antipater, son of Orges, one of the most distinguished citizens, being selected by the Thasians, who received and entertained the army of Xerxes on behalf of the cities on the continent, showed that four hundred talents of silver had been expended on the banquet. 119. In like manner those who superintended in the other cities gave in their accounts. For the banquet was of the following kind, as being ordered long beforehand, and considered of great importance. In the first place, as soon as they heard the heralds proclaiming it all around, the citizens, having distributed the corn that was in the cities, all made flour and meal for many months ; and in the next place, they fattened cattle, finding the best they could for money, and fed land and water fowl in coops and ponds, for the entertainment of the army : moreover, they made gold and silver cups and vessels, and all such things as are placed on a table. But these things were made for the king himself, and those who sat at table with him ; for the rest of the army provisions only were required. Wherever the army arrived, a tent was readily pitched, in which Xerxes himself lodged ; but the rest of the army remained in the open air. When meal time came, those who received them had all the trouble ; but the guests, when they had been satisfied and passed the night there, on the following day, having torn up the tent and taken all the furniture, went away, leaving nothing, but carrying away every thing. 120. On this occasion, a clever remark was made by Magacreon of Abdera, who advised the Abderites “ to go in a body, themselves and their wives, to their own temples, and to seat themselves as suppliants of the gods, beseeching them also for the future to avert one half of the evils that were coming upon them ; and to express their hearty thanks for what was passed, that king Xerxes was not accustomed to take food twice every day : for if they had been ordered to prepare a dinner

as well as a supper, they, the Abderites, would have been compelled either not to await the arrival of Xerxes, or, if they had awaited him, they must have been worn down the most miserably of all men." They, however, though hard put to it, executed the order imposed on them.

121. At Acanthus Xerxes dismissed the ships from his presence to proceed on their voyage, having given orders to the admirals that the fleet should await his arrival at Therma; at Therma which is situated on the Thermæan gulf, and from which that gulf derives its name; for he had heard that that was the shortest way. As far as Acanthus the army marched from Doriscus in the following order. Xerxes, having divided the whole land forces into three bodies, ordered one of them to accompany the fleet along the coast; of this division Mardonius and Masistes were commanders. Another of the three divisions of the army marched inland, commanded by Trintantæchmes and Gersis. But the third division, with which Xerxes himself went, marched between the other two, and had for generals Smerdomenes and Megabyzus. 122. The fleet accordingly, when it had been dismissed by Xerxes, and had passed through the canal which was at Athos extending to the bay on which the cities of Assa, Pílorus, Singus, and Sarta are situate, after that, when it had taken troops on board from those cities, sailed with all speed to the Thermæan bay. Doubling Ampelus, the Toronæan foreland, it passed by the following Greek cities, from which it took ships and men, Torone, Galepsus, Sermyla, Mecyberna, and Olynthus; all which country is now called Sithonia. 123. Xerxes's fleet, stretching across from the cape of Ampelus to the cape of Canastræum, which is the most prominent point of all Pallene, thence took ships and men from Potidæa, Aphytis, Neapolis, Æga, Therambus, Scione, Menda, and Sana, for these are the cities that belong to what is now Pallene, but was formerly called Phlegra. Coasting along this country, it sailed to the appointed place, taking with them troops also from the cities near Pallene and bordering on the Thermæan gulf; their names are as follows: Lipaxus, Combrea, Lisæ, Gigonus, Campsa, Smila, and Ænea. The country in which these cities are situate, is to the present time called by the name of Crossæa. From Ænea, with which I ended my enumeration of the cities, the course of the fleet was direct to

the Thermæan gulf and the Mygdonian territory : and sailing on, it reached the appointed place, Therma, and Sindus and Chalestra, on the river Axios, which divides the territories of Mygdonia and Bottiæis ; on a narrow tract of which, near the sea, stand the cities of Ichnæ and Pella.

124. The naval force encamped there near the river Axios, and the city of Therma, and the intermediate places, awaiting the arrival of the king. But Xerxes and the land army marched from Acanthus, taking the road through the interior, wishing to reach Therma. And he marched through the Pæonian and Crestonian territories towards the river Echidorus, which beginning from the Crestonians, flows through the Mygdonian territory, and discharges itself into the marsh which is above the river Axios. 125. While he was marching in this direction lions fell upon his camels that carried provisions : for the lions coming down by night and leaving their usual haunts, seized nothing else, whether beast of burden or man ; but they attacked the camels only. And I wonder what the reason could be, that induced the lions to abstain from all the rest, and set upon the camels ; a beast which they had never before seen or made trial of. 126. But in those parts lions are numerous, and wild bulls, which have very large horns that are brought into Greece. The boundaries of the lions are the river Nestus, which flows through Abdera, and the Achelous, which flows through Acarnania. For no one would ever see a lion any where eastward of the Nestus, throughout the forepart of Europe, nor to the west of the Achelous, in the rest of the continent, but they breed in the tract between these two rivers. 127. When Xerxes arrived at Therma, he there ordered his army to halt. And his army, when encamped, occupied the following district along the coast ; commencing from the city of Therma, and from Mygdonia, to the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon, which divide the territories of Bottiæis and Macedonia, uniting their waters into the same channel. In these countries, then, the barbarians encamped. Of the rivers above mentioned, the Echidorus, which flows from the Crestonians, was the only one that was not sufficient for the army, but failed.

128. Xerxes seeing from Therma the Thessalonian mountains, Olympus and Ossa, which are of vast size, and having learnt that there was a narrow pass between them, through

which the river Peneus runs, and hearing that at that spot there was a road leading to Thessaly, very much wished to sail and see the mouth of the Peneus ; because he designed to march by the upper road through the country of the Macedonians, who dwell higher up, to the territory of the Perrhæbi, near the city of Gonnus ; for he was informed that this was the safest way. Accordingly, as he wished, so he did. Having gone on board a Sidonian ship, in which he always embarked whenever he wished to do any thing of this kind, he made a signal for all the rest of the fleet to get under weigh, leaving the land forces where they were. When Xerxes arrived, and beheld the mouth of the Peneus, he was struck with great astonishment ; and having called his guides, asked if it would be possible to turn the river and conduct it by another channel into the sea. 129. It is said that Thessaly was anciently a lake, since it is enclosed on all sides by lofty mountains. For the side next the east Mount Pelion and Ossa shut in, mingling their bases with each other ; and the side towards the north Olympus *shuts in* ; and the west, Pindus ; and the side towards the mid-day and the south wind Othrys : the space in the midst of the above-mentioned mountains is Thessaly, which is hollow. Since, then, several other rivers flow into it, and these five most noted ones, the Peneus, the Apidanus, the Onochonus, the Enipeus, and the Pamisus ; these that have been named, accordingly, meeting together in this plain from the mountains that enclose Thessaly, discharge themselves into the sea through one channel, and that a narrow one, having all before mingled their waters into the same stream ; but as soon as they have mingled together, from that spot the names of the other rivers merge in that of the Peneus.⁹ It is said, that formerly, when the pass and outlet did not yet exist, these rivers, and besides them the lake Bœbeis, were not called by the names they now bear, though they flowed not less than they do now ; but that by their stream they made all Thessaly a lake. However, the Thessalians themselves say, that Neptune made the pass through which the Peneus flows ; and their story is probable. For whoever thinks that Neptune shakes the earth, and that rents occasioned by earthquakes are the works of this god, on seeing

⁹ Literally, " the river Peneus gaining the victory as to the name, causes the others to be nameless."

this, would say that Neptune formed it. For it appears evident to me, that the separation of these mountains is the effect of an earthquake. 130. The guides, when Xerxes asked if there was any other exit for the Peneus to the sea, being accurately acquainted with the country, said, "O king, this river has no other outlet that extends to the sea, except this one; for all Thessaly is surrounded by mountains." Xerxes is reported to have said to this: "The Thessalians are prudent men, and therefore they long ago took precautions, and altered their minds, both on other accounts, and because they possessed a country which might be easily subdued and quickly taken. For it would only be necessary to turn the river on to their territory, by forcing it back by a mound at the pass, and diverting it *from the channels* through which it now flows, so that all Thessaly, except the mountains, would be inundated." Xerxes expressed himself thus in reference to the sons of Aleuas,¹ because they, being Thessalians, were the first of the Greeks who gave themselves up to the king; Xerxes supposing that they promised alliance in behalf of the whole nation. Having thus spoken, and viewed the spot, he sailed back to Therma.

131. He remained several days about Pieria, for a third division of his army was employed in felling the trees on the Macedonian range, that the whole army might pass in that direction to the Perrhæbi. In the mean time the heralds,² who had been sent to Greece to demand earth, returned to Xerxes; some empty, and others bringing earth and water. 132. Of those who gave them were the following: the Thessalians, the Dolopes, the Enienes, the Perrhæbi, the Locrians, the Magnetes, the Melians, the Achæans of Pthiotis, and the Thebans, and all the rest of the Bœotians, except the Thespians and Plataeans. Against these the Greeks, who engaged in war with the barbarians, made a solemn oath. 'The oath ran as follows: "Whatever Greeks have given themselves up to the Persian, without compulsion, so soon as their affairs are restored to order, that these should be compelled to pay a tithe to the god at Delphi." Such was the oath taken by the Greeks. 133. To Athens and Sparta he did not send heralds to demand earth, for the following reasons: On a former occasion, when Darius sent for the same purpose, the former

¹ See chap. 6.

² See chap. 32.

having thrown those who made the demand into the barathrum,³ and the latter into a well, bade them carry earth and water to the king from those places. For that reason, Xerxes did not send persons to make the demand. What calamity befel the Athenians, in consequence of their having treated the heralds in this manner, I cannot say, except that their territory and city were ravaged; but I do not think that happened in consequence of that crime. 134. On the Lacedæmonians, however, the anger of Talthybius, Agamemnon's herald, alighted. For Talthybius has a temple in Sparta; and there are descendants of Talthybius, called Talthybiadæ, to whom all embassies from Sparta are given as a privilege. After these events, the Spartans were unable, when they sacrificed, to get favourable omens; and this continued for a long time. The Lacedæmonians being grieved, and considering it a great calamity, and having frequently held assemblies, and *at length* made inquiry by public proclamation, whether any Lacedæmonian was willing to die for Sparta, Sperthies, son of Aneristus, and Bulis, son of Nicolaus, both Spartans of distinguished birth, and eminent for their wealth, voluntarily offered to give satisfaction to Xerxes for the heralds of Darius who had perished at Sparta. Accordingly, the Spartans sent them to the Medes, for the purpose of being put to death. 135. And both the courage of these men deserves admiration, and also the following words on this occasion. For on their way to Susa, they came to Hydarnes; but Hydarnes was a Persian by birth, and governor of the maritime people in Asia; he having offered them hospitality, entertained them, and while he was entertaining them, he questioned them as follows, saying, "Men of Lacedæmon, why do you refuse to be friendly with the king? For you may see how well the king knows how to honour brave men, by looking at me and my condition. So also, if you would surrender yourselves to the king, for you are deemed by him to be brave men, each of you would obtain a government in some part of Greece, at the hands of the king." To this they answered as follows: "Hydarnes, the advice you hold out to us is not impartial; for you advise us, having tried the one state, but being inexperienced in the other: what it is to be a slave you know perfectly well, but

³ The barathrum was a deep pit at Athens, into which certain criminals who were sentenced to death, were thrown.

you have never tried liberty, whether it is sweet or not. For if you had tried it, you would advise us to fight for it, not with spears, but even with hatchets." Thus they answered Hydarnes. 136. Afterwards, when they went up to Susa, and were come into the king's presence, in the first place, when the guards commanded and endeavoured to compel them to prostrate themselves and worship the king, they said, they would by no means do so, although they were thrust by them on their heads; for that it was not their custom to worship a man, nor had they come for that purpose. When they had fought off this, and on their addressing Xerxes in words to the following effect, "King of the Medes, the Lacedæmonians have sent us in return for the heralds who were killed at Sparta, to make satisfaction for them;" on their saying this, Xerxes answered with magnanimity, "that he would not be like the Lacedæmonians, for that they had violated the law of all nations, by murdering his heralds; but he would not do the very thing which he blamed in them; nor by killing them in return, would relieve the Lacedæmonians from guilt." 137. Thus the wrath of Talthybius, when the Spartans acted in this manner, ceased for the time, although Sperthies and Bulis returned to Sparta. But some time afterwards it was again aroused, during the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians, as the Lacedæmonians say; and this appears to me to have happened in a most extraordinary manner: for that the wrath of Talthybius alighted on the messengers, and did not cease until it was satisfied, justice allowed; but that it should fall on the sons of the men who went up to the king on account of that wrath, on Nicolaus, son of Bulis, and on Aneristus, son of Sperthies, who, sailing in a merchant vessel fully manned, captured some fishermen from Tiryns, makes it clear to me that the occurrence was extraordinary in consequence of that wrath. For they, being sent by the Lacedæmonians as ambassadors to Asia, and being betrayed by Sitalces, son of Teres, king of the Thracians, and by Nymphodorus, son of Pytheas of Abdera, were taken near Bisanthe on the Hellespont, and being carried to Attica, were put to death by the Athenians; and with them Aristeas, son of Adimantus, a Corinthian. These things, however, happened many years after the expedition of the king.

138. But I return to my former subject. This expedition

of, the king was nominally directed against Athens, but was really sent against all Greece. The Greeks, however, though they had heard of it long beforehand, were not all affected alike. For those who had given earth and water to the Persian, felt confident that they should suffer no harm from the barbarian; but those who had refused to give them, were in great consternation, since the ships in Greece were not sufficient in number to resist the invader, and many were unwilling to engage in the war, and were much inclined to side with the Medes. 139. And here I feel constrained by necessity to declare my opinion, although it may excite the envy of most men; however, I will not refrain from expressing how the truth appears to me to be. If the Athenians, terrified with the impending danger, had abandoned their country; or not having abandoned it, but remaining in it, had given themselves up to Xerxes, no other people would have attempted to resist the king at sea. If, then, no one had opposed Xerxes by sea, the following things must have occurred on land. Although many lines of walls had been built by the Peloponnesians across the Isthmus, yet the Lacedæmonians, being abandoned by the allies, (not willingly, but by necessity, they being taken by the barbarian city by city,) would have been left alone; and being left alone, after having displayed noble deeds, would have died nobly. They would either have suffered thus, or before that, seeing the rest of the Greeks siding with the Medes, would have made terms with Xerxes; and so, in either case, Greece would have become subject to the Persians; for I am unable to discover what would have been the advantage of the walls built across the Isthmus, if the king had been master of the sea. Any one, therefore, who should say that the Athenians were the saviours of Greece, would not deviate from the truth; for to whichever side they turned, that must have preponderated. But having chosen that Greece should continue free, they were the people who roused the rest of the Greeks who did not side with the Medes, and who, next to the gods, repulsed the king. Neither did alarming oracles, that came from Delphi, and inspired them with terror, induce them to abandon Greece; but, standing their ground, they had courage to await the invader of their country.

140. For the Athenians, having sent deputies to Delphi, were

anxious to consult the oracle : and after they had performed the usual ceremonies about the temple, when they entered the sanctuary and sat down, the Pythian, whose name was Aris-tonica, uttered the following warning : “ O wretched men, why sit ye here ? fly to the ends of the earth, leaving your houses and the lofty summits of your wheel-shaped city. For neither does the head remain firm nor the body, nor the lowest feet nor the hands, nor is aught of the middle left, but they are all fallen to ruin. For fire and fleet Mars, driving the Syrian chariot, destroys it. And he will destroy many other turrets, and not yours alone ; and he will deliver many temples of the immortals to devouring fire, which now stand dripping with sweat, shaken with terror ; and from the topmost roofs trickles black blood, pronouncing inevitable woe. But go from the sanctuary, and infuse your mind with courage to meet misfortunes.” 141. The deputies of the Athenians, having heard this, deemed it a very great calamity ; and when they were dejected at the predicted evil, Timon, son of Androbulus, a man reputed at Delphi equally with the best, advised them to take supplicatory branches and go again and consult the oracle as suppliants. The Athenians yielding to this advice, and saying, “ O king, vouchsafe to give us a more favourable answer concerning our country, having regard to these supplicatory branches which we have brought with us ; otherwise we will never depart from thy sanctuary, but will remain here till we die.” When they had said this, the priestess gave a second answer, in these terms : “ Pallas is unable to propitiate Olympian Jove, entreating him with many a prayer and prudent counsel. But to you again I utter this speech, making it like adamant ; for when all is taken that the limit of Cecrops contains within it, and the recesses of divine Cithæron, wide-seeing Jupiter gives a wooden wall to the Triton-born goddess, to be alone impregnable, which shall preserve you and your children. Nor do you quietly wait for the cavalry and infantry advancing in multitudes from the continent, but turn your back and withdraw. You will still be able to face them. O divine Salamis, thou shalt cause the sons of women to perish, whether Ceres is scattered or gathered in.” 142. Having written this answer down, for it appeared to them to be of milder import than the former one, they departed for Athens : and when the

deputies, on their return, reported it to the people, many different opinions were given by persons endeavouring to discover the meaning of the oracle, and amongst them the two following most opposed each other. Some of the old men said, they thought the god foretold, that the Acropolis should be saved ; for formerly the Acropolis was defended by a hedge ; they therefore on account of the hedge conjectured that this was the wooden wall. Others, on the other hand, said, that the god alluded to their ships, and therefore advised, that, abandoning every thing else, they should get them ready. However, the two last lines uttered by the Pythian perplexed those who said that the wooden wall meant the ships : " O divine Salamis, thou shalt cause the sons of women to perish, whether Ceres is scattered or gathered in." By these words the opinions of those who said that the ships were the wooden wall, were disturbed : for the interpreters of oracles took them in this sense, that they should be defeated off Salamis, if they prepared for a sea-fight. 143. There was a certain Athenian who had lately risen to eminence, whose name was Themistocles, but he was commonly called the son of Neocles ; this man maintained, that the interpreters had not rightly understood the whole, saying thus : " If the word that had been uttered really did refer to the Athenians, he did not think that it would have been expressed so mildly, but thus, ' O unhappy Salamis,' instead of ' O divine Salamis,' if the inhabitants were about to perish on its shores ; therefore whoever understood them rightly would conclude, that the oracle was pronounced by the god against their enemies, and not against the Athenians." He advised them, therefore, to make preparations for fighting by sea, since that was the wooden wall. When Themistocles thus declared his opinion, the Athenians considered it preferable to that of the interpreters who dissuaded them from making preparations for a sea-fight, and in short *advised them* not to make any resistance at all, but to abandon the Attic territory, and settle in some other. 144. Another opinion of Themistocles had before this opportunely prevailed. When the Athenians, having great riches in the treasury, which came in from the mines of Laureum, were about to share them man by man, to each ten drachmas ; then Themistocles persuaded them to refrain from this distribution, and to build two hundred ships with this money,

meaning for the war with the Æginetæ. For that war springing up, at this time saved Greece, by compelling the Athenians to apply themselves to maritime affairs. The ships, however, were used for the purpose for which they were built, but were thus very serviceable to Greece. These, therefore, were already built for the Athenians, and it was necessary to construct others besides. And it was resolved on their consulting after the receipt of the oracle, to await the barbarian, who was invading Greece, with their whole people on shipboard, in obedience to the god, together with such Greeks as would join them. Such, then, were the oracles delivered to the Athenians.

145. When the Greeks who were better affected towards Greece were assembled together, and consulted with each other, and gave pledges of mutual fidelity, it was thereupon determined, on deliberation, that, before all things, they should reconcile all existing enmities and wars with each other. For there were wars in hand between several others, but the most considerable was that between the Athenians and Æginetæ. After this, being informed that Xerxes was with his army at Sardis, they determined to send spies into Asia, in order to discover the true state of the king's affairs; and to send ambassadors to Argos to conclude an alliance against the Persians, and others to Sicily, to Gelon, son of Dinomenes, and to Corcyra, and others to Crete, begging them to come to the assistance of Greece; purposing, if possible, that Greece should be united, and that all should combine in adopting the same plan, in dangers which threatened all the Greeks alike; but the power of Gelon was said to be very great, being far superior to that of any other Grecian states. 146. When these things were determined on by them, having reconciled their enmities, they first of all sent three men as spies into Asia; and they having arrived at Sardis, and endeavoured to get intelligence of the king's forces, when they were discovered, were examined by the generals of the land-army, and led out to execution, for sentence of death had been passed upon them. But when Xerxes heard of this, disapproving of the decision of the generals, he sent some of his guards, with orders to bring the spies to him, if they should find them still alive. And when they found them yet living, and brought them into the king's presence, he thereupon, having inquired for what purpose they came,

commanded the guards to conduct them round, and show them all the infantry and cavalry, and when they should be satisfied with seeing them, to send them away unharmed, to whatever country they should choose. 147. He issued these orders, alleging the following reason, that "if the spies were put to death, the Greeks would neither be informed beforehand of his power, that it was greater than could be described; nor would he do any great harm to his enemies, by putting three men to death; whereas, if they returned to Greece, it was his opinion," he said, "that the Greeks, having heard of his power, would, of their own accord, surrender their liberty, before the expedition should take place, and so it would not be necessary to have the trouble of marching against them." This opinion of his was like this other one. When Xerxes was at Abydos, he saw certain ships laden with corn from the Pontus, sailing through the Hellespont, on their way to Ægina and the Peloponnesus. Those who sat near him, having heard that the ships belonged to the enemy, were ready to capture them, and fixing their eyes on the king, watched when he would give the order. But Xerxes asked his attendants where they were sailing; they answered, "To your enemies, sire, carrying corn." He answering, said, "Are not we also sailing to the same place to which these men are, and provided with other things, and with corn? What hurt, then, can they do us by carrying corn thither for us?" The spies, accordingly, having seen the army, and being sent away, returned to Europe.

148. But the Greeks who had engaged in a confederacy against the Persian, after the despatch of the spies, next sent ambassadors to Argos. But the Argives say, that what concerned them occurred as follows; that they heard from the very first of the design of the barbarian against Greece, and having heard of it, and learnt that the Greeks would endeavour to obtain their assistance against the Persian, they sent persons to consult the oracle of Delphi, and inquire of the god "what course it would be best for them to adopt; for six thousand of their number had recently been slain by the Lacedæmonians, and by Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides:" for this reason they sent, and the Pythian gave the following answer to their inquiries: "Hated by your neighbours, beloved by the immortal gods, holding your lance at rest, keep

on the watch, and guard your head; the head shall save the body." *They say*, that the Pythian gave this answer first, and afterwards, when the ambassadors came to Argos, they were introduced to the council, and delivered their message; and they answered to what was said, that "the Argives were ready to comply, having first made a thirty years' truce with the Lacedæmonians, and provided they might have an equal share of the command of the allied forces; though in justice the whole command belonged to them, yet they would be content with the command over half." 149. This, they say, was the answer of their senate, although the oracle had forbidden them to enter into any alliance with the Grecians; and that they were anxious to make a thirty years' truce, although they feared the oracle, in order that their children might become men during that time; but if a truce was not made, they were apprehensive lest, if in addition to their present calamity, another failure should befall them in the Persian war, they might in future become subject to the Lacedæmonians. Those of the ambassadors who came from Sparta gave the following answer to what was said by the council: "that with respect to a truce, it should be referred to the people; but with respect to the command, they were instructed to answer, and say, that they had two kings, but the Argives only one; and therefore it was not possible to deprive either of their kings of his command; but that there was nothing to hinder the Argive king from having an equal vote with their two." Thus the Argives say, that they could not put up with the arrogance of the Spartans, but that they rather chose to be subject to the barbarians, than to yield to the Lacedæmonians; and that they ordered the ambassadors to quit the territories of the Argives before sun-set, otherwise they would treat them as enemies. 150. Such is the account which the Argives themselves give of this affair. But another report is prevalent throughout Greece, that Xerxes sent a herald to Argos, before he set out on his expedition against Greece; and it is related that he, on his arrival, said: "Men of Argos, king Xerxes speaks thus to you. We are of opinion that Perses, from whom we are sprung, was son of Perseus, son of Danae, born of Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus. Thus, then, we must be your descendants: it is, therefore, neither right that we should lead an army against our progenitors, nor that you

should assist others, and be opposed to us ; but should remain quiet by yourselves : and if I succeed according to my wish, I shall esteem none greater than you." It is said that the Argives, when they heard this, considered it a great thing, and at once determined neither to promise any thing nor demand any thing in return ; but when the Greeks wished to take them into the confederacy, they then, knowing that the Lacedæmonians would not share the command with them, made the demand in order that they might have a pretext for remaining quiet. 151. Some of the Greeks also say that the following circumstance, which occurred many years after, accords with this : Cællias, son of Hipponicus, and those who went up with him as ambassadors of the Athenians, happened to be at the Memnonian Susa on some other business ; and the Argives at the same time having sent ambassadors to Susa, asked Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, "whether the alliance which they had formed with Xerxes still subsisted, or whether they were considered by him as enemies." King Artaxerxes answered, "that it certainly subsisted, and that he considered no city more friendly than Argos." 152. Now whether Xerxes did send a herald to Argos with such a message, and whether ambassadors of the Argives, having gone up to Susa, asked Artaxerxes about the alliance, I cannot affirm with certainty ; nor do I declare any other opinion on the subject than what the Argives themselves say. But this much I know, that if all men were to bring together their own faults into one place, for the purpose of making an exchange with their neighbours, when they had looked closely into their neighbours' faults, each would gladly take back those which they brought with them. Thus, the conduct of the Argives was not the most base. But I am bound to relate what is said, though I am not by any means bound to believe every thing : and let this remark apply to the whole history. For even this is reported, that the Argives were the people who invited the Persian to invade Greece, since their war with the Lacedæmonians went on badly, wishing that any thing might happen to them rather than continue in their present troubles. This is sufficient concerning the Argives.

153. Other ambassadors went from the allies to Sicily, to confer with Gelon ; and amongst them Syagrus on the part of the Lacedæmonians. An ancestor of this Gelon, who was an inhabit-

ant of Gela, came from the island of Telus, which lies off Triopium ; when Gela was founded by the Lindians from Rhodes and by Antiphemus, he was not left behind ; and in course of time his descendants becoming priests of the infernal deities, continued to be so, Telines, one of their ancestors, having acquired that dignity in the following manner. Some of the inhabitants of Gela being worsted in a sedition, had fled to Mactorium, a city situated above Gela ; these men, then, Telines conducted back again, without the assistance of any human force, but with the sacred things to those deities ; though whence he got them, or how he became possessed of them, I am unable to say. However, relying on these, he brought back the fugitives, on condition that his descendants should be priests of the deities. From what I hear, I am much astonished that Telines should have achieved such an action ; for I have ever thought that such actions are not in the reach of every man, but proceed from a brave spirit and manly vigour. Whereas, on the contrary, he is reported by the inhabitants of Sicily to have been an effeminate and delicate man. Thus, however, he acquired this dignity. 154. On the death of Cleander, son of Pantares, who reigned seven years over Gela, but was killed by Sabyllus, a citizen of Gela, thereupon Hippocrates, who was brother to Cleander, succeeded to the sovereignty. While Hippocrates held the tyranny, Gelon, who was a descendant of Telines the priest, was with many others, and with Ænesidemus, son of Pataicus, one of the guards of Hippocrates ; and soon after was made commander of the whole cavalry on account of his valour. For when Hippocrates besieged the Callipolitæ, the Naxians, the Zancleæans, the Leontines, and besides the Syracusans, and divers of the barbarians, Gelon signalized himself in these several wars ; and of the cities that I have mentioned, not one, except the Syracusans, escaped servitude at the hands of Hippocrates. But the Corinthians and Coreyræans saved the Syracusans, after they had been defeated in battle on the river Elorus ; and they saved them, having reconciled them on the following terms, that the Syracusans should give up Camarina to Hippocrates ; but Camarina originally belonged to the Syracusans. 155. When Hippocrates, having reigned the same number of years as his brother Cleander, met with his death before Hybla, while carrying on the war against the Sicilians, Gelon there-

upon, under colour of defending the rights of Euclides and Cleander, sons of Hippocrates, the citizens refusing to be any longer subject to them,—in fact, when he had defeated the Geloans in battle, possessed himself of the sovereignty, and deposed the sons of Hippocrates. After this success, Gelon leading back those Syracusans who were called Gamori,⁴ and had been expelled by the people, and by their own slaves, called Cyllyrii, leading them back from the city of Casmene to Syracuse, got possession of this also. For the people of the Syracusans gave up the city and themselves to Gelon on his first approach. 156. When he had made himself master of Syracuse, he took less account of the government of Gela, and intrusted it to his brother Hiero; but he strengthened Syracuse, and Syracuse was every thing to him; and it grew up rapidly and flourished. For, first of all, he removed all the Camarinæans to Syracuse, and made them citizens, and destroyed the city of Camarina; and in the next place, he did with more than half the Geloans the same that he had done with the Camarinæans. Moreover, the Megarians in Sicily, when being besieged they came to terms, the more opulent of them, who had raised the war against him, and, therefore, expected to be put to death, he took to Syracuse and made citizens; but the populace of the Megarians, who had no part in promoting this war, nor expected to suffer any harm, he also took to Syracuse, and sold them for exportation from Sicily. He treated the Eubœans in Sicily in the same manner, and made the same distinction; and he treated them both in this way, from an opinion that a populace is a most disagreeable neighbour. By such means Gelon became a powerful tyrant.

157. At this time, when the ambassadors of the Grecians arrived at Syracuse, having come to a conference with him, they spoke as follows: "The Lacedæmonians, the Athenians, and their allies have sent us to invite you to join with them against the barbarian; for doubtless you have heard that he is marching against Greece, and that a Persian, having thrown a bridge over the Hellespont, and bringing with him all the eastern host out of Asia, is about to invade Greece, holding out as a pretence that he is advancing against Athens, but really designing to reduce all Greece under his own power.

⁴ Land-holders.

But you have attained to great power, and possess not the least part of Greece, since you rule Sicily; assist, therefore, those who are asserting the liberty of Greece, and join them in maintaining its liberty. For if all Greece is assembled, a large force is collected, and we become able to resist the invaders. But if some of us should betray the common cause, and others refuse to assist, so that the sound part of Greece should be small, then there is great danger that the whole of Greece will fall. For you must not expect that if the Persian should subdue us, having conquered in battle, he will not proceed also against you, but take precautions beforehand; for by assisting us, you protect yourself. A favourable result is generally wont to attend a well-devised plan." Thus they spoke. 158. Gelon was very vehement, speaking as follows: "Men of Greece, holding arrogant language, you have dared to invite me to come to your assistance against the barbarian. And yet you yourselves, when I formerly besought you to assist me in attacking a barbarian army when a quarrel was on foot between me and the Carthaginians, and when I exhorted you to avenge the death of Dorieus,⁵ son of Anaxandrides, upon the Ægestæans, and promised that I would join in freeing the ports, from whence great advantages and profits accrued to you; neither for my sake did you come to assist me, nor to avenge the death of Dorieus. So that as far as you are concerned, all this country is subject to barbarians. However, matters turned out well with me, and prospered; and now, when the war has come round and reached you, at length you remember Gelon. But though I met with disgraceful treatment from you, I shall not imitate your example, but am ready to assist you, furnishing two hundred triremes, twenty thousand heavy-armed troops, two thousand horse, two thousand bowmen, two thousand slingers, and two thousand light-horse; I likewise undertake to supply corn for the whole Grecian army until we have finished the war. But I promise these things on this condition, that I shall be general and leader of the Greeks against the barbarian: on no other condition will I come myself, or send others." 159. Syagrus, when he heard this, could not contain himself, but spoke as follows: "Agamemnon, the descendant of Pelops, would indeed groan aloud, if he heard that the Spartans had

⁵ See B. V. chap. 45 46.

been deprived of the supreme command by a Gelon and by Syracusans. Never mention this proposition again, that we should give up the command to you; but if you are willing to succour Greece, know that you must be commanded by Lacedæmonians, or, if you will not deign to be commanded, you need not assist us." 160. Upon this Gelon, when he observed the indignant language of Syagrus, made this last proposal: "Spartan stranger, reproaches uttered against a man are wont to rouse his indignation. Yet, though you have used insulting words in your speech, you have not provoked me to be unseemly in return. Nevertheless, since you are so exceedingly anxious for the supreme command, it is reasonable that I also should be more anxious for it than you, since I am leader of a far greater army, and many more ships. However, since my proposal is so repugnant to you, I will abate something of my first demand. If, then, you choose to command the army, I will command the fleet; or if it please you rather to have the command at sea, I will lead the land-forces. And you must either be content with these terms, or return destitute of such allies." 161. Gelon, then, proposed these terms; but the ambassador of the Athenians, anticipating that of the Lacedæmonians, answered him in these words: "King of the Syracusans, the Grecians sent us to you, not to ask for a general, but an army. You declare that you will not send an army, unless you have the command of Greece, and you are anxious to be made general of it: as long as you required to command all the forces of the Grecians, we Athenians were contented to remain silent, as we knew that the Spartan would be sufficient to answer for us both; but since, being excluded from the whole command, you require to govern the navy, the matter stands thus. Even if the Lacedæmonians should allow you to govern it, we shall not allow it, for that is ours, unless the Lacedæmonians wish to take it themselves. If they, indeed, wish to have the command, we shall not oppose them, but we will never cede to any one else the command of the navy. For in vain should we possess the greatest naval power of the Greeks, if we, being Athenians, should yield the command to the Syracusans, we who are the most ancient nation, and the only people of the Greeks who have never changed their country; from whom also Homer, the epic poet, said, the best man went to

Troy, both for arraying and marshalling an army. So that it is no disgrace to us to speak as we do." 162. To this Gelon answered: "Athenian stranger, you seem to have commanders, but as if you would not have men to be commanded. Since, therefore, you are resolved to concede nothing, but to retain the whole power, you cannot be too quick in returning back again, and informing Greece, that the spring of the year has been taken from her." The meaning of this saying is, which he wished to intimate, that as the spring is evidently the most valuable season in the year, so of the army of the Grecians, his was the best: Greece, therefore, deprived of his alliance, he compared to a year from which the spring should be taken away.

163. The ambassadors of the Greeks, having thus negotiated with Gelon, sailed away. But Gelon, upon this, fearing for the Grecians, that they would not be able to withstand the barbarian, but deeming it an intolerable disgrace that he who was tyrant of Sicily should go to Peloponnesus, and be subject to the Lacedæmonians, gave up all thoughts of that course and adopted another. As soon as he was informed that the Persian had crossed the Hellespont, he despatched Cadmus, son of Scythes, a Coan, to Delphi, with three penteconters, taking with him much treasure and friendly messages, for the purpose of watching the contest, in what way it would terminate; and if the barbarian should conquer, he was to present him with the treasure, and earth and water for the countries which Gelon ruled over; but if the Greeks *should be victorious*, he was to bring back *the treasure*. 164. This Cadmus, having before these events received from his father the sovereignty of the Coans, firmly established, of his own accord, when no danger threatened him, but from a sense of justice, surrendered the government into the hands of the Coans, and retired into Sicily; there, with the Samians, he possessed and inhabited the city of Zancle, which changed its name to Messana. This Cadmus, therefore, who had in this manner come to Sicily, Gelon sent on account of other proofs which he had of his uprightness; and he, in addition to other instances of uprightness that had been given by him, left this not the least *monument* of them: for having in his possession vast treasures, which Gelon had intrusted to him, when it was in his power to appropriate them, he would not; but

when the Greeks conquered in the sea-fight, and Xerxes had retired, he also returned to Sicily, and took back all the treasures.

165. However, the following account is given by those who inhabit Sicily, that Gelon, notwithstanding that he must be governed by the Lacedæmonians, would have assisted the Greeks, had not Terillus, son of Crinippus, who was tyrant of Himera, being expelled from Himera by Theron, son of Ænesidemus king of the Agrigentines, at that time brought in an army of three hundred thousand men, consisting of Phœnicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligians, Elisycians, Sardinians, and Cynrians, under the conduct of Amilcar, son of Hanno, king of the Carthaginians. Terillus persuaded him by the hospitality which existed between them, and especially by the zeal of Anaxilaus, son of Critines, who being tyrant of Rhegium, and having given his children as hostages into the hands of Amilcar, induced him to enter Sicily, in order to revenge the injury done to his father-in-law. For Anaxilaus had married a daughter of Terillus, whose name was Cydippe. Thus, as Gelon was not able to assist the Greeks, he sent the treasures to Delphi. 166. In addition to this, they say, that it happened on the same day, that Gelon and Theron conquered Amilcar the Carthaginian in Sicily, and the Greeks conquered the Persian at Salamis. I am informed, that Amilcar, who was a Carthaginian by his father, and a Syracusan by his mother, and chosen king of Carthage for his virtue, when the engagement took place, and he was defeated in battle, vanished out of sight; for he was seen no where on the earth, either alive or dead, though Gelon had search made for him every where. 167. The following story is also related by the Carthaginians themselves, who endeavour to give a probable account, that the barbarians fought with the Grecians in Sicily from the morning till late in the evening, for it is said that the conflict lasted so long; and during this time, Amilcar, continuing in the camp, offered sacrifices, and observed the omens, burning whole victims upon a large pile; and when he saw the defeat of his own army, as he happened to be pouring libations on the victims, he threw himself into the flames, and thus, being burnt to ashes, disappeared. But whether Amilcar disappeared in such manner as the Phœnicians relate, or in another manner, as the Syracusans, the Carthaginians

in the first place offer sacrifices to him, and in the next, have erected monuments to his memory in all the cities inhabited by colonists, and the most considerable one in Carthage itself. So much for the affairs of Sicily.

168. The Corcyræans, having given the following answer to the ambassadors, acted as I shall relate. For the same ambassadors who went to Sicily, invited them to join the league, using the same language to them as they had done to Gelon. They indeed immediately promised to send and give assistance, adding, "that they could not look on and see the ruin of Greece, for if it should be overthrown, nothing else would remain for them, than to become slaves on the very first day; therefore they would assist to the utmost of their power." Thus speciously they answered; but when they ought to have assisted, with different intentions, they manned sixty ships, and having put to sea, after great delays, drew near to the Peloponnesus, and anchored about Pylus and Tænarus, of the Lacedæmonian territory; they also carefully watched the war, in what way it would terminate; having no expectation that the Grecians would get the better, but thinking that the Persian, having gained a decided superiority, would become master of all Greece. They therefore acted thus purposely, in order that they might be able to say to the Persian, "O king, when the Greeks invited us to take part in the war, we, who have a considerable force, and were able to supply not the least number of ships, but the greatest number, next to the Athenians, would not oppose you, nor do any thing displeasing to you." By saying this, they hoped to get better terms than the rest; which would have been the case, as appears to me; and towards the Greeks their excuse was ready prepared, which indeed they did make use of. For when the Greeks accused them of not having sent assistance, they said "that they had manned sixty ships, but were unable to double Malea by reason of the Etesian winds; and so they could not reach Salamis, and were absent from the sea-fight from no bad motive." In this manner they attempted to elude the charge of the Greeks.

169. The Cretans, when those Greeks who were appointed for that purpose invited them to join the league, acted as follows. Having sent, in the name of the commonwealth, persons to consult the oracle at Delphi, they inquired of the god,

whether it would be for their advantage to assist Greece. The Pythian answered: "Fools, you complain of all the woes which Minos in his anger sent you, for aiding Menelaus, because they would not assist you in avenging his death at Camicus, and yet you assisted them *in avenging* a woman who was carried off from Sparta by a barbarian." When the Cretans heard this answer reported, they refrained from sending assistance. 170. For it is said, that Minos, having come to Sicania, which is now called Sicily, in search of Dædalus, met with a violent death: that after some time the Cretans, at the instigation of a deity, all except the Polichnitæ and the Præsiens, went with a large force to Sicania, and during five years besieged the city of Camicus, which in my time the Agrigentines possessed; and at last, not being able either to take it, or to continue the siege, because they were oppressed by famine, they abandoned it and went away: and when they were sailing along the coast of Iapygia, a violent storm overtook them, and drove them ashore. And as their ships were broken to pieces, and there appeared no means of their returning to Crete, they thereupon founded the city of Hyria, and settled there, changing their name from Cretans to Messapian Iapygians, and becoming, instead of islanders, inhabitants of the continent. From the city of Hyria they founded other cities, which a long time after the Tarentines endeavouring to destroy, signally failed; so that this was the greatest Grecian slaughter of all that we know of, both of the Tarentines themselves, and of the Rhegians, who being compelled by Miccythus, son of Chærus, and coming to assist the Tarentines, thus perished to the number of three thousand; but of the Tarentines themselves no number was given. This Miccythus was a servant of Anaxilaus, and had been left in charge of Rhegium. He is the same person that was expelled from Rhegium, and who, having settled in Tegea, a city of Arcadia, dedicated the many statues in Olympia. 171. These events relating to the Rhegians and Tarentines, are a digression from my history. To Crete, then, destitute of inhabitants, as the Præsiens say, other men, and especially the Grecians, went, and settled there: and in the third generation after the death of Minos the Trojan war took place, in which the Cretans proved themselves not the worst avengers of Menelaus: as a punishment for this, when they returned from Troy, famine and pestilence fell

both on themselves and their cattle ; so that Crete being a second time depopulated, the Cretans are the third people who, with those that were left, now inhabit it. The Pythian therefore, putting them in mind of these things, checked them in their desire to assist the Grecians.

172. The Thessalians at first sided with the Mede from necessity, as they showed, in that the intrigues of the Aleuadæ⁶ did not please them. For as soon as they were informed that the Persian was about to cross over into Europe, they sent ambassadors to the Isthmus ; and at the Isthmus deputies from Greece were assembled chosen from those cities that were better disposed towards Greece. The ambassadors of the Thessalians, having come to them, said : “ Men of Greece, it is necessary to guard the pass of Olympus, that Thessaly and all Greece may be sheltered from the war. Now we are ready to assist in guarding it, but you also must send a large army ; for if you will not send, be assured, we shall come to terms with the Persian : for it is not right that we, who are situated so far in advance of the rest of Greece, should perish alone in your defence. If you will not assist us, you cannot impose any obligation upon us ; for obligation was ever inferior to inability ; and we must ourselves endeavour to contrive some means of safety.” 173. Thus spoke the Thessalians. And the Grecians thereupon resolved to send an army by sea to Thessaly, to guard the pass ; and when the army was assembled, it sailed through the Euripus, and having arrived at Alus of Achaia, disembarked, and marched to Thessaly, having left the ships there ; and arrived at Tempe, at the pass that leads from the lower Macedonia into Thessaly, by the river Peneus, between Mount Olympus and Ossa. There heavy-armed troops of the Grecians, being assembled together to the number of ten thousand, encamped, and to them was added the cavalry of the Thessalians. The Lacedæmonians were commanded by Euænetus, son of Carenus, chosen from among the Polemarchs, though not of the royal race, and the Athenians *were commanded by* Themistocles, son of Neocles. There they remained but a few days, for messengers coming from Alexander, son of Amyntas, a Macedonian, advised them to retire, and not to stay in the pass and be trampled under foot by the invading army ; describing the numbers of the army and the

⁶ See chap. 6 and 130.

ships. When the messengers gave this advice, as the Grecians conceived the advice to be good, and the Macedonian was evidently well-disposed to them, they determined to follow it; but, in my opinion, it was fear that persuaded them, when they heard that there was another pass into Thessaly and Upper Macedonia, through the country of the Perrhæbi, near the city of Gonnus; by which, indeed, the army of Xerxes did enter. The Grecians, therefore, going down to their ships, went back again to the Isthmus. 174. This expedition into Thessaly took place while the king was about to cross over from Asia into Europe, and was still at Abydos. But the Thessalians, being abandoned by their allies, then readily took part with the Medes, and with no further hesitation, so much so, that in emergency they proved most useful to the king.

175. The Greeks, when they arrived at the Isthmus, consulted on the message they had received from Alexander, in what way and in what places they should prosecute the war. The opinion which prevailed was, that they should defend the pass at Thermopylæ; for it appeared to be narrower than that into Thessaly, and at the same time nearer to their own territories. For the path by which the Greeks who were taken at Thermopylæ were afterwards surprised, they knew nothing of, till, on their arrival at Thermopylæ, they were informed of it by the Trachinians. They accordingly resolved to guard this pass, and not suffer the barbarian to enter Greece; and that the naval force should sail to Artemisium, in the territory of Histiaëotis, for these places are near one another, so that they could hear what happened to each other. These spots are thus situated. 176. In the first place, Artemisium is contracted from a wide space of the Thracian sea into a narrow frith, which lies between the island of Sciathus and the continent of Magnesia. From the narrow frith begins the coast of Eubœa, called Artemisium, and in it is a temple of Diana. But the entrance into Greece through Trachis, in the narrowest part, is no more than a half plethrum in width; however, the narrowest part of the country is not in this spot, but before and behind Thermopylæ; for near Alpeni, which is behind, there is only a single carriage-road; and before, by the river Phœnix, near the city of Anthela, is another single carriage-road. On the western side of Thermopylæ is an inaccessible and precipitous mountain, stretching to Mount Cæta;

and on the eastern side of the way, is the sea, and a morass. In this passage there are hot baths, which the inhabitants call Chytri, and above these is an altar to Hercules. A wall had been built in this pass, and formerly there were gates in it. The Phocæans built it through fear, when the Thessalians came from Thesprotia to settle in the Æolian territory which they now possess : apprehending that the Thessalians would attempt to subdue them, the Phocæans took this precaution : at the same time they diverted the hot water into the entrance, that the place might be broken into clefts ; having recourse to every contrivance to prevent the Thessalians from making inroads into their country. Now this old wall had been built a long time, and the greater part of it had already fallen through age ; but they determined to rebuild it, and in that place to repel the barbarian from Greece. Very near this road there is a village called Alpeni ; from this the Greeks expected to obtain provisions. 177. Accordingly these situations appeared suitable for the Greeks. For they, having weighed every thing beforehand, and considered that the barbarians would neither be able to use their numbers nor their cavalry, there resolved to await the invader of Greece. As soon as they were informed that the Persian was in Pieria, breaking up from the Isthmus, some of them proceeded by land to Thermopylæ, and others by sea to Artemisium.

178. The Greeks, therefore, being appointed in two divisions, hastened to meet the enemy. But at the same time the Delphians, alarmed for themselves and for Greece, consulted the oracle ; and the answer given them was, “ that they should pray to the winds, for that they would be powerful allies to Greece.” The Delphians having received the oracle, first of all communicated the answer to those Greeks who were zealous to be free ; and as they very much dreaded the barbarians, by giving that message they acquired a claim to everlasting gratitude. After that, the Delphians erected an altar to the winds at Thyia, where there is an enclosure consecrated to Thyia, daughter of Cephissus, from whom this district derives its name, and conciliated them with sacrifices. And the Delphians, in obedience to that oracle, to this day propitiate the winds.

179. The naval force of Xerxes, setting out from the city of Therma, advanced with ten of the fastest sailing ships

straight to Scyathus, where were three Grecian ships keeping a look-out, a Trœzenian, an Æginetan, and an Athenian. These, seeing the ships of the barbarians at a distance, betook themselves to flight. 180. The Trœzenian ship, which Praxinus commanded, the barbarians pursued and soon captured; and then, having led the handsomest of the marines to the prow of the ship, they slew him, deeming it a good omen that the first Greek they had taken was also very handsome. The name of the man that was slain was Leon, and perhaps he in some measure reaped the fruits of his name. 181. The Æginetan ship, which Asonides commanded, gave them some trouble, Pytheas, son of Ischenous, being a marine on board, a man who on this day displayed the most consummate valour; who, when the ship was taken, continued fighting until he was entirely cut to pieces. But when, having fallen, he was not dead, but still breathed, the Persians who served on board the ships were very anxious to save him alive, on account of his valour, healing his wounds with myrrh, and binding them with bandages of flaxen cloth. And when they returned to their own camp, they showed him with admiration to the whole army, and treated him well; but the others, whom they took in this ship, they treated as slaves. 182. Thus, then, two of the ships were taken; but the third, which Phormus, an Athenian, commanded, in its flight ran ashore at the mouth of the Peneus; and the barbarians got possession of the ship, but not of the men: for as soon as the Athenians had run the ship aground, they leapt out, and, proceeding through Thessaly, reached Athens. The Greeks who were stationed at Artemisium were informed of this event by signal-fires from Sciathus; and being informed of it, and very much alarmed, they retired from Artemisium to Chalcis, intending to defend the Euripus, and leaving scouts on the heights of Eubœa. 183. Of the ten barbarian ships, three approached the sunken rock called Myrmex, between Sciathus and Magnesia. Then the barbarians, when they had erected on the rock a stone column, which they had brought with them, set out from Therma, now that every obstacle had been removed, and sailed forward with all their ships, having waited eleven days after the king's departure from Therma. Pammon, a Scyrian, pointed out to them this hidden rock, which was almost directly in their course. The barbarians, sailing all day, reached

Sepias in Magnesia, and the shore that lies between the city of Casthanæa and the coast of Sepias.

184. As far as this place, and Thermopylæ, the army had suffered no loss, and the numbers were at that time, as I find by calculations, of the following amount: of those in ships from Asia, amounting to one thousand two hundred and seven, originally the whole number of the several nations was two hundred forty-one thousand four hundred men, allowing two hundred to each ship; and on these ships thirty Persians, Medes, and Sacæ served as marines, in addition to the native crews of each: this further number amounts to thirty-six thousand two hundred and ten. To this and the former number I add those that were on the penteconters, supposing eighty men on the average to be on board of each: but, as I have before said,⁷ three thousand of these vessels were assembled; therefore the men on board them must have been two hundred and forty thousand. This, then, was the naval force from Asia, the total being five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten. Of infantry there were seventeen hundred thousand, and of cavalry eighty thousand; to these I add the Arabians who rode camels, and the Libyans who drove chariots, reckoning the number at twenty thousand men. Accordingly, the numbers on board the ships and on the land added together, make up two millions three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten. This, then, is the force which, as has been mentioned, was assembled from Asia itself, exclusive of the servants that followed, and the provision ships, and the men that were on board them. 185. But the force brought from Europe must still be added to this whole number that has been summed up; but it is necessary to speak by guess. Now the Grecians from Thrace, and the islands contiguous to Thrace, furnished one hundred and twenty ships; these ships give an amount of twenty-four thousand men. Of land-forces, which were furnished by Thracians, Pæonians, the Eordi, the Bottiæans, the Chalcidian race, Brygi, Pierians, Macedonians, Perrhæbi, Ænians, Dolopians, Magnesians, and Achæans, together with those who inhabit the maritime parts of Thrace; of these nations I suppose that there were three hundred thousand men. So that these myriads added to those from Asia, make a total of two millions

six hundred forty one thousand six hundred and ten fighting men. 186. I think that the servants who followed them, and with those on board the provision ships and other vessels that sailed with the fleet, were not fewer than the fighting men, but more numerous ; but supposing them to be equal in number with the fighting men, they make up the former number of myriads. Thus Xerxes, son of Darius, led five millions two hundred and eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty men, to Sepias and Thermopylæ. 187. This, then, was the number of the whole force of Xerxes. But of women who made bread, and concubines, and eunuchs, no one could mention the number with accuracy ; nor of draught-cattle and other beasts of burden ; nor of Indian dogs that followed, could any one mention the number, they were so many. Therefore I am not astonished that the streams of some rivers failed ; but rather, it is a wonder to me, how provisions held out for so many myriads. For I find by calculation, if each man had a chœnix of wheat daily, and no more, one hundred and ten thousand three hundred and forty medimni must have been consumed every day ; and I have not reckoned the food for the women, eunuchs, beasts of burden, and dogs. But of so many myriads of men, not one of them, for beauty and stature, was more entitled than Xerxes himself to possess this power.

188. When the fleet, having set out, sailed and reached the shore of Magnesia that lies between the city of Casthanæa and the coast of Sepias, the foremost of the ships took up their station close to land, others behind rode at anchor, (the beach not being extensive enough,) with their prows towards the sea, and eight deep. Thus they passed the night, but at day-break, after serene and tranquil weather, the sea began to swell, and a heavy storm with a violent gale from the east, which those who inhabit these parts call a Hellespontine, burst upon them ; as many of them, then, as perceived the gale increasing, and who were able to do so from their position, anticipated the storm by hauling their ships on shore, and both they and their ships escaped. But such of the ships as the storm caught at sea, it carried away, some to the parts called Ipni, near Pelion, others to the beach ; some were dashed on Cape Sepias itself ; some were wrecked at Melibœa, and others at Casthanæa. The storm was indeed irresistible. 189. A

story is told, that the Athenians invoked Boreas, in obedience to an oracle, another response having come to them, "that they should call their son-in-law to their assistance." But Boreas, according to the account of the Greeks, married a woman of Attica, Orithyia, daughter to Erectheus. On account of this marriage, the Athenians, as the report goes, conjecturing that Boreas was their son-in-law, and having stationed their fleet at Chalcis of Eubœa, when they saw the storm increasing, or even before, offered sacrifices to and invoked Boreas and Orithyia, *praying* that they would assist them, and destroy the ships of the barbarians, as they had done before at Mount Athos. Whether, indeed, the north wind in consequence of this fell upon the barbarians as they rode at anchor, I cannot undertake to say; however, the Athenians say, that Boreas, having assisted them before, then also produced this effect; and on their return they erected a temple to Boreas near the river Ilissus. 190. In this disaster those who give the lowest account say, that not fewer than four hundred ships perished, and innumerable lives, and an infinite quantity of treasure; so that this wreck of the fleet proved a source of great profit to Aminocles, son of Cretinus, a Magnesian, who possessed land about Sepias; he some time afterwards picked up many golden cups that had been driven ashore, and many silver ones; he also found treasures belonging to the Persians, and gained an unspeakable quantity of other golden articles. He then, though in other respects unfortunate, became very rich by what he found; for a sad calamity, which occasioned the death of his son,⁸ gave him great affliction. 191. The provision ships and other vessels destroyed were beyond number; so that the commanders of the naval force, fearing lest the Thessalians should attack them in their shattered condition, threw up a high rampart from the wrecks; for the storm lasted three days. But at length the Magi, having sacrificed victims, and endeavoured to charm the winds by incantations, and moreover, having offered sacrifices to Thetis and the Nereids, laid the storm on the fourth day; or perhaps it abated of its own accord. They sacrificed to Thetis, having heard from the Ionians the story that she had been carried off from this country by Peleus, and that all the coast of Sepias

⁸ Παιδοφόνος, is by others understood to imply "that he killed his own son." I have followed Baehr.

belonged to her and the other Nereids. Accordingly the wind was lulled on the fourth day. 192. The scouts on the heights of Eubœa, running down on the second day after the storm first began, acquainted the Greeks with all that had occurred with respect to the wreck of the fleet. They, when they heard it, having offered up vows and poured out libations to Neptune the Deliverer, immediately hastened back to Artemisium ; hoping that there would be only some few ships to oppose them. Thus they coming there a second time took up their station at Artemisium ; and from that time to the present have given to Neptune the surname of the Deliverer.

193. The barbarians, when the wind had lulled, and the waves had subsided, having hauled down their ships, sailed along the continent ; and having doubled the promontory of Magnesia, stood directly into the bay leading to Pagasæ. There is a spot in this bay of Magnesia, where it is said Hercules was abandoned by Jason and his companions, when he had been sent from the Argo for water, as they were sailing to Asia in Colchis, for the golden fleece ; for from thence they purposed to put out to sea, after they had taken in water : from this circumstance the name of Aphetæ was given to the place. In this place, then, the fleet of Xerxes took up its moorings.

194. Fifteen of these ships happened to be driven out to sea some time after the rest, and somehow saw the ships of the Greeks at Artemisium ; the barbarians thought that they were their own, and sailing on fell in among their enemies. They were commanded by Sandoces, son of Thaumasius, governor of Cyme, of Æolia. He, being one of the royal judges, had been formerly condemned by king Darius, who had detected him in the following offence, to be crucified. Sandoces gave an unjust sentence, for a bribe. But while he was actually hanging on the cross, Darius, considering with himself, found that the services he had done to the royal family were greater than his faults ; Darius therefore, having discovered this, and perceiving that he himself had acted with more expedition than wisdom, released him. Having thus escaped being put to death by Darius, he survived ; but now, sailing down among the Grecians, he was not to escape a second time. For when the Greeks saw them sailing towards them, perceiving the mistake they had committed, they bore down upon them and easily took them. 195. In one of these,

Aridolis, tyrant of the Alabandians, in Caria, was taken ; and in another, the Paphian commander, Penthylus, son of Demonous. He brought twelve ships from Paphos ; but having lost eleven in the storm that took place off Sepias, he was taken with the one that escaped, as he was sailing to Artemisium. The Grecians, having learnt by inquiry what they wished to know respecting the forces of Xerxes, sent these men away bound to the isthmus of the Corinthians.

196. Accordingly, the naval force of the barbarians, with the exception of the fifteen ships which, I have mentioned, Sandoces commanded, arrived at Aphetæ. But Xerxes and the land-forces, marching through Thessaly and Achaia, had entered on the third day into the territories of the Mælians. In Thessaly he had made a match with his own horses, for the purpose of trying the Thessalian cavalry, having heard that it was the best of all Greece ; and on that occasion the Grecian horses proved very inferior. Of the rivers in Thessaly, the Onochonus alone did not supply a sufficient stream for the army to drink ; but of the rivers that flow in Achaia, even the largest of them, the Epidanus, scarcely held out. 197. When Xerxes arrived at Alos in Achaia, the guides, wishing to tell every thing, related to him the tradition of the country, concerning the temple of Laphystian Jupiter ; how Athamas, son of Æolus, conspiring with Ino, planned the death of Phryxus ; and then, how the Achæans, in obedience to an oracle, imposed the following penalty on his descendants. Whoever is the eldest person of this race, having ordered him to be excluded from the prytaneum, they themselves keep watch ; the Achæans call the prytaneum, Leitum ; and if he should enter, he cannot possibly go out again except in order to be sacrificed : and how moreover many of those who were on the point of being sacrificed, through fear, went away and fled the country ; but in process of time having returned back again, if they were taken, entering the prytaneum, they related, how such an one being covered with sacred fillets, is sacrificed, and how conducted with great pomp. The descendants of Cytissorus, son of Phryxus, are liable to this punishment ; because when the Achæians, in obedience to an oracle, were about to make an expiation for their country by the sacrifice of Athamas, son of Æolus, Cytissorus, arriving from Aia of Colchis, rescued him, and having done so, drew down the anger of the gods

upon his descendants. Xerxes having heard this, when he came to the grove, both abstained from entering it himself, and commanded all the army to do the same; and he showed the same respect to the dwelling of the descendants of Athamás as he did to the sacred precinct.

198. These things occurred in Thessaly and in Achaia. From these countries Xerxes advanced to Malis, near a bay of the sea in which an ebb and flow takes place every day. About this bay lies a plain country, in one part wide, and in the other very narrow, and around it high and impassable mountains, called the Trachinian rocks, enclose the whole Malian territory. The first city in the bay, as one comes from Achaia, is Anticyra, by which the river Sperchius, flowing from the country of the Ænians, falls into the sea: and from thence about twenty stades is another river, to which the name of Dyrras is given, which, it is said, rose up to assist Hercules when he was burning. From this, at a distance of another twenty stades, is another river, which is called Melas.

199. The city of Trachis is distant five stades from this river Melas; and in this part where Trachis is built, is the widest space of all this country, from the mountains to the sea; for there are twenty-two thousand plethra of plain. In this mountain, which encloses the Trachinian territory, there is a ravine to the south of Trachis, and through the ravine the river Asopus flows, by the base of the mountain. 200. To the south of the Asopus is another river, the Phoenix, not large, which, flowing from these mountains, falls into the Asopus. At the river Phoenix it is the narrowest; for only a single carriage-road has been constructed there. From the river Phoenix it is fifteen stades to Thermopylæ; and between the river Phoenix and Thermopylæ is a village, the name of which is Anthela, by which the Asopus flowing, falls into the sea: the country about it is wide, and in it is situated a temple of Ceres Amphictyonis, and there are the seats of the Amphictyons, and a temple of Amphictyon himself. 201. King Xerxes, then, encamped in the Trachinian territory of Malis, and the Greeks in the pass. This spot is called by most of the Greeks, Thermopylæ, but by the inhabitants and neighbours, Pylæ. Both parties, then, encamped in these places. The one was in possession of all the parts towards the north, as far as Trachis; and the others, of the parts

which stretch towards the south and meridian, on this continent.

202. The following were the Greeks who awaited the Persian in this position. Of Spartans three hundred heavy-armed men; of Tegeans and Mantineans one thousand, half of each; from Orchomenus in Arcadia one hundred and twenty; and from the rest of Arcadia one thousand, there were so many Arcadians; from Corinth four hundred; from Phlius two hundred men, and from Mycenæ eighty. These came from Peloponnesus. From Bœotia, of Thespians seven hundred, and of Thebans four hundred. 203. In addition to these, the Opuntian Locrians, being invited, came with all their forces, and a thousand Phocians. For the Greeks themselves had invited them, representing by their ambassadors that "they had arrived as forerunners of the others, and that the rest of the allies might be daily expected; that the sea was protected by them, being guarded by the Athenians, the Æginetæ, and others, who were appointed to the naval service; and that they had nothing to fear, for that it was not a god who invaded Greece, but a man; and that there never was, and never would be, any mortal who had not evil mixed with *his prosperity* from his very birth; and to the greatest of them the greatest *reverses happen*. That it must, therefore, needs be, that he who is marching against us, being a mortal, will be disappointed in his expectation." They, having heard this, marched with assistance to Trachis. 204. These nations had separate generals for their several cities; but the one most admired, and who commanded the whole army, was a Lacedæmonian, Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides, son of Leon, son of Eurycratides, son of Anaxander, son of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus, son of Alcamenes, son of Teleclus, son of Archelaus, son of Agesilaus, son of Doryssus, son of Leobotes, son of Echestratus, son of Agis, son of Eurysthenes, son of Aristodemus, son of Aristomachus, son of Cleodæus, son of Hyllus, son of Hercules; who had unexpectedly succeeded to the throne of Sparta. 205. For as he had two elder brothers, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he was far from any thought of the kingdom. However, Cleomenes having died without male issue, and Dorieus being no longer alive, having ended his days in Sicily,⁹ the kingdom thus devolved upon

⁹ B. V. chap. 42—45.

Leonidas; both because he was older than Cleombrotus, (for he was the youngest son of Anaxandrides,) and also because he had married the daughter of Cleomenes. He then marched to Thermopylæ, having chosen the three hundred men allowed by law,¹ and such as had children. On his march he took with him the Thebans, whose numbers I have already reckoned,² and whom Leontiades, son of Eurymachus, commanded. For this reason Leonidas was anxious to take with him the Thebans alone of all the Greeks, because they were strongly accused of favouring the Medes: he, therefore, summoned them to the war, wishing to know whether they would send their forces with him, or would openly renounce the alliance of the Grecians. But they, though otherwise minded, sent assistance. 206. The Spartans sent these troops first with Leonidas, in order that the rest of the allies, seeing them, might take the field, and might not go over to the Medes, if they heard that they were delaying. But afterwards, for the Carnean festival was then an obstacle to them, they purposed, when they had kept the feast, to leave a garrison in Sparta, and to march immediately with their whole strength. The rest of the confederates likewise intended to act in the same manner; for the Olympic games occurred at the same period as these events. As they did not, therefore, suppose that the engagement at Thermopylæ would so soon be decided, they despatched an advance-guard. Thus, then, they intended to do.

207. The Greeks at Thermopylæ, when the Persian came near the pass, being alarmed, consulted about a retreat; accordingly, it seemed best to the other Peloponnesians to retire to Peloponnesus, and guard the Isthmus; but Leonidas, perceiving the Phocians and Locrians very indignant at this proposition, determined to stay there, and to despatch messengers to the cities, desiring them to come to their assistance, as being too few to repel the army of the Medes. 208. While they were deliberating on these matters, Xerxes sent a scout on horseback, to see how many they were, and what they were doing. For while he was still in Thessaly, he had heard that a small army had been assembled at that spot, and as to

¹ For the various methods of rendering τοὺς κατεστειώτας, see Baehr's note and Cary's Lexicon.

² Chap. 202.

their leaders, that they were Lacedæmonians, and Leonidas, who was of the race of Hercules. When the horseman rode up to the camp, he reconnoitred, and saw not indeed the whole camp, for it was not possible that they should be seen who were posted within the wall, which, having rebuilt, they were now guarding: but he had a clear view of those on the outside, whose arms were piled in front of the wall. At this time the Lacedæmonians happened to be posted outside; and some of the men he saw performing gymnastic exercises, and others combing their hair. On beholding this he was astonished, and ascertained their number; and having informed himself of every thing accurately, he rode back at his leisure, for no one pursued him, and he met with general contempt. On his return he gave an account to Xerxes of all that he had seen. 209. When Xerxes heard this, he could not comprehend the truth, that the Grecians were preparing to be slain and to slay to the utmost of their power. But, as they appeared to behave in a ridiculous manner, he sent for Demaratus, son of Ariston, who was then in the camp; and when he was come into his presence, Xerxes questioned him as to each particular, wishing to understand what the Lacedæmonians were doing. Demaratus said, "You before heard me, when we were setting out against Greece, speak of these men; and when you heard, you treated me with ridicule, though I told you in what way I foresaw these matters would issue. For it is my chief aim, O king, to adhere to the truth in your presence; hear it, therefore, once more. These men have come to fight with us for the pass, and are now preparing themselves to do so. For such is their custom, when they are going to hazard their lives, then they dress their heads. But be assured, if you conquer these men, and those that remain in Sparta, there is no other nation in the world that will dare to raise their hands against you, O king. For you are now to engage with the noblest kingdom and city of all amongst the Greeks, and with the most valiant men." What was said seemed very incredible to Xerxes, and he asked again, "how, being so few in number, they could contend with his army." He answered, "O king, deal with me as with a liar, if these things do not turn out as I say."

210. By saying this he did not convince Xerxes. He therefore let four days pass, constantly expecting that they would

betake themselves to flight. But on the fifth day, as they had not retreated, but appeared to him to stay through arrogance and rashness, he being enraged, sent the Medes and Cissians against them, with orders to take them alive, and bring them into his presence. When the Medes bore down impetuously upon the Greeks, many of them fell ; others followed to the charge, and were not repulsed, though they suffered greatly. But they made it evident to every one, and not least of all to the king himself, that they were indeed many men, but few soldiers. The engagement lasted through the day. 211. When the Medes were roughly handled, they thereupon retired ; and the Persians whom the king called " Immortal," and whom Hydarnes commanded, taking their place, advanced to the attack ; thinking that they indeed should easily settle the business. But when they engaged with the Grecians, they succeeded no better than the Medic troops, but just the same, as they fought in a narrow space, and used shorter spears than the Greeks, and were unable to avail themselves of their numbers. The Lacedæmonians fought memorably both in other respects, showing that they knew how to fight with men who knew not, and whenever they turned their backs, they retreated in close order : but the barbarians seeing them retreat, followed with a shout and clamour ; then they, being overtaken, wheeled round so as to front the barbarians, and having faced about, overthrew an inconceivable number of the Persians ; and then some few of the Spartans themselves fell. So that when the Persians were unable to gain any thing in their attempt on the pass, by attacking in troops and in every possible manner, they retired. 212. It is said that during these onsets of the battle, the king, who witnessed them, thrice sprang from his throne, being alarmed for his army. Thus they strove at that time. On the following day the barbarians fought with no better success ; for considering that the Greeks were few in number, and expecting that they were covered with wounds, and would not be able to raise their heads against them any more, they renewed the contest. But the Greeks were marshalled in companies and according to their several nations, and each fought in turn, except only the Phocians, they were stationed at the mountain to guard the pathway. When therefore the Persians found nothing

different from what they had seen on the preceding day, they retired.

213. While the king was in doubt what course to take in the present state of affairs, Ephialtes, son of Eurydemus, a Malian, obtained an audience³ of him, expecting that he should receive a great reward from the king, and informed him of the path which leads over the mountain to Thermopylæ; and by that means caused the destruction of those Greeks who were stationed there. But afterwards, fearing the Lacedæmonians, he fled to Thessaly; and when he had fled, a price was set on his head by the Pylagori, when the Amphictyons were assembled at Pylæ. But some time after, he went down to Anticyra, and was killed by Athenades, a Trachinian. This Athenades killed him for another reason, which I shall mention in a subsequent part of my history;⁴ he was however rewarded none the less by the Lacedæmonians. 214. Another account is given, that Onetes, son of Phanagoras, a Carystian, and Corydallus of Anticyra, were the persons who gave this information to the king, and conducted the Persians round the mountain. But to me this is by no means credible: for in the first place we may draw that inference from this circumstance, that the Pylagori of the Grecians set a price on the head not of Onetes and Corydallus, but of Ephialtes the Trachinian, having surely ascertained the exact truth; and in the next place we know that Ephialtes fled on that account. Onetes indeed, though he was not a Malian, might be acquainted with this path, if he had been much conversant with the country; but it was Ephialtes who conducted them round the mountain by the path, and I charge him as the guilty person. 215. Xerxes, since he was pleased with what Ephialtes promised to perform, being exceedingly delighted, immediately despatched Hydarnes and the troops that Hydarnes commanded; and he started from the camp about the hour of lamp-lighting. The native Malians discovered this pathway; and having discovered it, conducted the Thessalians by it against the Phocians, at the time when the Phocians, having fortified the pass by a wall, were under shelter from an attack. From that time it ap-

³ Literally, "came to speak with him."

⁴ The promised account is no where given in any extant writings of the historian.

peared to have been of no service to the Malians. 216. This path is situated as follows : it begins from the river Asopus, which flows through the cleft ; the same name is given both to the mountain and to the path, Anopæa ; and this Anopæa extends along the ridge of the mountain, and ends near Alpenus, which is the first city of the Locrians towards the Malians, and by the rock called Melampygy, and by the seats of the Cercopes ; and there the path is the narrowest. 217. Along this path, thus situate, the Persians, having crossed the Asopus, marched all night, having on their right the mountains of the Cætæans, and on their left those of the Trachinians ; morning appeared, and they were on the summit of the mountain. At this part of the mountain, as I have already mentioned, a thousand heavy-armed Phocians kept guard, to defend their own country, and to secure the pathway. For the lower pass was guarded by those before mentioned ; and the Phocians had voluntarily promised Leonidas to guard the path across the mountain. 218. The Phocians discovered them after they had ascended, in the following manner ; for the Persian ascended without being observed, as the whole mountain was covered with oaks ; there was a perfect calm, and as was likely, a considerable rustling taking place from the leaves strewn under foot, the Phocians sprung up and put on their arms, and immediately the barbarians made their appearance. But when they saw men clad in armour they were astonished ; for, expecting to find nothing to oppose them, they fell in with an army. Thereupon Hydarnes, fearing lest the Phocians might be Lacedæmonians, asked Ephialtes of what nation the troops were ; and being accurately informed, he drew up the Persians for battle. The Phocians, when they were hit by many and thick-falling arrows, fled to the summit of the mountain, supposing that they had come expressly to attack them, and prepared to perish. Such was their determination. But the Persians, with Ephialtes and Hydarnes, took no notice of the Phocians, but marched down the mountain with all speed.

219. To those of the Greeks who were at Thermopylæ, the augur Megistias, having inspected the sacrifices, first made known the death that would befall them in the morning ; certain deserters afterwards came and brought intelligence of the circuit the Persians were taking ; these brought the news while it was yet night ; and, thirdly, the scouts running down

from the heights, as soon as day dawned, *brought the same intelligence*. Upon this the Greeks held a consultation, and their opinions were divided. For some would not hear of abandoning their post, and others opposed that view. After this, when the assembly broke up, some of them departed, and being dispersed betook themselves to their several cities; but others of them prepared to remain there with Leonidas. 220. It is said that Leonidas himself sent them away, being anxious that they should not perish; but that he and the Spartans who were there could not honourably desert the post which they originally came to defend. For my own part, I am rather inclined to think, that Leonidas, when he perceived that the allies were averse and unwilling to share the danger with him, bade them withdraw; but that he considered it dishonourable for himself to depart: on the other hand, by remaining there, great renown would be left for him, and the prosperity of Sparta would not be obliterated. For it had been announced to the Spartans, by the Pythian, when they consulted the oracle concerning this war, as soon as it commenced, "that either Lacedæmon must be overthrown by the barbarians, or their king perish." This answer she gave in hexameter verses to this effect: "To you, O inhabitants of spacious Lacedæmon, either your vast, glorious city shall be destroyed by men sprung from Perseus, or, if not so, the confines of Lacedæmon mourn a king deceased of the race of Hercules. For neither shall the strength of bulls nor of lions withstand him,⁵ with force opposed to force; for he has the strength of Jove; and I say he shall not be restrained, before he has, certainly, obtained one of these for his share." I think, therefore, that Leonidas, considering these things, and being desirous to acquire glory for the Spartans alone, sent away the allies, rather than that those who went away differed in opinion, and went away in such an unbecoming manner. 221. The following in no small degree strengthens my conviction⁶ on this point. For not only *did he send away* the others, but it is certain, that Leonidas also sent away the augur who followed the army, Megistias the Acarnanian, who was said to have been originally descended from Melampus, the same who announced from an inspection of the victims what was about to befall them, in order that he might not perish with them.

⁵ The Persian king.

⁶ "Is not the least proof to me."

He, however, though dismissed, did not himself depart, but sent away his son, who served with him in the expedition, being his only child. 222. The allies accordingly, that were dismissed, departed, and obeyed Leonidas ; but only the Thespians and the Thebans remained with the Lacedæmonians ; the Thebans, indeed, remained unwillingly, and against their inclination, for Leonidas detained them, treating them as hostages ; but the Thespians willingly, for they refused to go away and abandon Leonidas and those with him, but remained and died with them. Demophilus, son of Diadromas, commanded them.

223. Xerxes, after he had poured out libations at sun-rise, having waited a short time, began his attack about the time of full market ; for he had been so instructed by Ephialtes ; for the descent from the mountain is more direct, and the distance much shorter, than the circuit and ascent. The barbarians, therefore, with Xerxes, advanced ; and the Greeks with Leonidas, marching out as if for certain death, now advanced much farther than before into the wide part of the defile. For the fortification of the wall had protected them, and they on the preceding days, having taken up their position in the narrow part, there fought. But now engaging outside the narrows, great numbers of the barbarians fell. For the officers of the companies from behind, having scourges, flogged every man, constantly urging them forward ; in consequence, many of them falling into the sea, perished, and many more were trampled alive under foot by one another ; and no regard was paid to any that perished. For the Greeks, knowing that death awaited them at the hands of those who were going round the mountain, being desperate, and regardless of their own lives, displayed the utmost possible valour against the barbarians. 224. Already were most of their javelins broken, and they had begun to despatch the Persians with their swords. In this part of the struggle fell Leonidas, fighting valiantly, and with him other eminent Spartans, whose names, seeing they were deserving men, I have ascertained ; indeed I have ascertained the names of the whole three hundred. On the side of the Persians, also, many other eminent men fell on this occasion, and amongst them two sons of Darius, Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, born to Darius of Phragtaguna, daughter of Artanes ; but Artanes was brother to

king Darius, and son of Hystaspes, son of Arsames. He, when he gave his daughter to Darius, gave him also all his property, as she was his only child. 225. Accordingly, two brothers of Xerxes fell at this spot, fighting for the body of Leonidas, and there was a violent struggle between the Persians and Lacedæmonians, until at last the Greeks rescued it by their valour, and four times repulsed the enemy. Thus the contest continued until those with Ephialtes came up. When the Greeks heard that they were approaching, from this time the battle was altered. For they retreated to the narrow part of the way, and passing beyond the wall, came and took up their position on the rising ground, all in a compact body, with the exception of the Thebans: the rising ground is at the entrance where the stone lion now stands to the memory of Leonidas. On this spot, while they defended themselves with swords, such as had them still remaining, and their hands and teeth, the barbarians overwhelmed them with missiles, some of them attacking them in front, and having thrown down the wall; and others surrounding and attacking them on every side.

226. Though the Lacedæmonians and Thespians behaved in this manner, yet Dieneces, a Spartan, is said to have been the bravest man. They relate that he made the following remark, before they engaged with the Medes, having heard a Trachinian say, that when the barbarians let fly their arrows, they would obscure the sun by the multitude of their shafts, so great were their numbers: but he, not at all alarmed at this, said, holding in contempt the numbers of the Medes, that "their Trachinian friend told them every thing to their advantage, since if the Medes obscure the sun, they would then have to fight in the shade, and not in the sun." This and other sayings of the same kind they relate that Dieneces, the Lacedæmonian, left as memorials. 227. Next to him, two Lacedæmonian brothers, Alpheus and Maron, sons of Orisiphantus, are said to have distinguished themselves most; and of the Thespians, he obtained the greatest glory whose name was Dithyrambus, son of Harmatides. 228. In honour of the slain, who were buried on the spot where they fell, and of those who died before they who were dismissed by Leonidas went away, the following inscription has been engraved over them: "Four thousand from Peloponnesus once fought on this spot with

three hundred myriads." This inscription was made for all; and for the Spartans in particular: "Stranger, go tell the Lacedæmonians, that we lie here, obedient to their commands." This was for the Lacedæmonians; and for the prophet, the following: "This is the monument of the illustrious Megistias, whom once the Medes, having passed the river Sperchius, slew; a prophet, who, at the time well knowing the impending fate, would not abandon the leaders of Sparta." The Amphictyons are the persons who honoured them with these inscriptions and columns, with the exception of the inscription to the prophet; that of the prophet Megistias, Simonides, son of Leoprepes, caused to be engraved, from personal friendship.

229. It is said, that two of these three hundred, Eurytus and Aristodemus, when it was in the power of both, if they had agreed together, either to return alike safe to Sparta, since they had been dismissed from the camp by Leonidas, and were lying at Alpeni desperately afflicted with a disease of the eyes; or, if they would not return, to have died together with the rest; when it was in their power to do either of these, they could not agree; and being divided in opinion, Eurytus, having heard of the circuit made by the Persians, and having called for and put on his arms, ordered his helot to lead him to the combatants; and when he had led him, the man who led him ran away, but he, rushing into the midst of the throng, perished; but Aristodemus, failing in courage, was left behind. Now if it had happened that Aristodemus alone, being sick, had returned to Sparta, or if both had gone home together, in my opinion the Spartans would not have shown any anger against them. But now, since one of them perished, and the other, who had only the same excuse, refused to die, it was necessary for them to be exceedingly angry with Aristodemus. 230. Some say that Aristodemus thus got safe to Sparta, and on such a pretext; but others, that being sent as a messenger from the army, though he might have arrived while the battle was going on, he would not, but having lingered on the road, survived; while his fellow-messenger, arriving in time for the battle, died. 231. Aristodemus having returned to Lacedæmon, met with insults and infamy. He was declared infamous by being treated as follows: not one of the Spartans would either give him fire or converse with him; and he met with insult, being

called Aristodemus the coward. However, in the battle of Plataea, he removed all the disgrace that attached to him.⁷ 232. It is also said, that another of the three hundred, whose name was Pantites, having been sent as a messenger to Thessaly, survived; and that he, on his return to Sparta, finding himself held in dishonour, hung himself. 233. The Thebans, whom Leontiades commanded, as long as they were with the Greeks, being constrained by necessity, fought against the king's army; but when they saw the forces of the Persians gaining the upper hand, as the Greeks with Leonidas were hastening to the hill, having separated from them, they held out their hands and went near the barbarians, saying the truest thing they could say, that "they were both on the side of the Medes, and were among the first who gave earth and water to the king, and that they came to Thermopylae from compulsion, and were guiltless of the blow that had been inflicted on the king. So that, by saying this, they saved their lives; for they had the Thessalians as witnesses to what they said: they were not, however, fortunate in every respect; for when the barbarians seized them as they came up, some they slew, and the greater number of them, by the command of Xerxes, they branded with the royal mark, beginning with the general, Leontiades; whose son, Eurymachus, some time afterwards, the Plataeans slew, when he was commanding four hundred Thebans, and had got possession of the citadel of the Plataeans. 234. Thus the Greeks fought at Thermopylae. And Xerxes, having sent for Demaratus, questioned him, beginning as follows: "Demaratus, you are an honest man; I judge so from experience; for whatever you said, has turned out accordingly. Now tell me, how many the rest of the Lacedaemonians may be; and how many of them, or whether all, are such as these in war?" He answered, "O king, the number of all the Lacedaemonians is great, and their cities are many; but I shall inform you of that which you desire to know. In Laconia is Sparta, a city containing about eight thousand men; all these are equal to those who have fought here; the rest of the Lacedaemonians, however, are not equal to these, though brave." To this Xerxes said: "Demaratus, in what way can we conquer these men with the least trouble, come tell me; for you must be acquainted with the course of their counsels,

⁷ See B. IX. chap. 71.

since you have been their king." 235. He replied: "O king, since you ask my advice so earnestly, it is right that I should tell you what is best. You should, then, despatch three hundred ships of your naval force to the Laconian coast. Off that coast there lies an island called Cythera, which Chilon, the wisest man amongst us, said would be more advantageous to the Spartans if sunk to the bottom of the sea, than if it remained above water; always apprehending that some such thing would come from it, as I am going to propose; not that he foresaw the arrival of your fleet, but fearing equally every naval force. Sallying from this island, then, let them alarm the Lacedæmonians; and when they have a war of their own near home, they will no longer give you cause to fear, lest they should succour the rest of Greece, while it is being taken by your land-forces. But when the rest of Greece is subdued, the Laconian territory, being left alone, will be feeble. If you will not act in this manner, you may expect that this will happen. There is in Peloponnesus a narrow isthmus; in this place, all the Peloponnesians being combined against you, expect to meet more violent struggles than the past; whereas, if you do as I advise, both this isthmus and the cities will submit to you without a battle." 236. After him spoke Achæmenes, who was brother of Xerxes, and commander of the naval forces, having been present at the conversation, and fearing lest Xerxes might be induced to adopt that plan: "O king, I perceive you listening to the suggestions of a man, who envies your prosperity, or would betray your cause. For the Greeks are commonly of that character; they envy success, and hate superior power. If, therefore, in the present state of our affairs, after four hundred ships have been wrecked, you should detach three hundred more from the fleet to sail round Peloponnesus, our enemies may fight us upon equal terms; but if our fleet is kept together, it becomes invincible, and they will be unable to fight with us at all: moreover, the whole fleet will assist the land-forces, and the land-forces the fleet, by advancing together; but if you separate them, neither will they be useful to you, nor you to them. Having, therefore, ordered your own matters well, resolve to pay no attention to what your enemies are doing, how they will carry on the war, what they will do, or how many their numbers are. For they are able to think about themselves, and we in like

manner about ourselves. But the Lacedæmonians, if they venture a battle against the Persians, will not cure this one present wound." 237. To this Xerxes answered: "Achæmenes, you appear to me to speak well, and I will act accordingly. But Demaratus said what he thought was best for me, though he is surpassed by you in judgment. For that I will not admit, that Demaratus is not well-disposed to my interests, forming my conclusion from what was before said by him, and from the fact, that a citizen envies a fellow-citizen who is prosperous, and hates him in silence; nor, when a citizen asks for advice, will a fellow-citizen suggest what seems to him to be best, unless he has reached a high degree of virtue: such persons, however, are rare. But a friend bears the greatest regard for his friend in prosperity; and, when he asks his advice, gives him the best advice he can. I therefore enjoin all men for the future to abstain from calumny concerning Demaratus, since he is my friend. 238. Xerxes having spoken thus, passed through the dead; and having heard that Leonidas was king and general of the Lacedæmonians, he commanded them to cut off his head, and fix it upon a pole. It is clear to me from many other proofs, and not least of all from this, that king Xerxes was more highly incensed against Leonidas during his life, than against any other man; for otherwise he would never have violated the respect due to his dead body; since the Persians, most of all men with whom I am acquainted, are wont to honour men who are brave in war. They, however, to whom the order was given to do this, did it.

239. But I return to that part of my narration where I before left it incomplete. The Lacedæmonians first had information that the king was preparing to invade Greece; and accordingly they sent to the oracle at Delphi, whereupon the answer was given them, which I lately mentioned.⁸ But they obtained their information in a remarkable manner. For Demaratus, son of Ariston, being in exile among the Medes, as I conjecture, and appearances support my opinion, was not well affected to the Lacedæmonians. However, it is a question, whether he acted as he did from a motive of benevolence, or by way of exultation. For when Xerxes had determined to invade Greece, Demaratus, who was then at Susa, and had

⁸ Chap. 220.

heard of his intention, communicated it to the Lacedæmonians. But he was unable to make it known by any other means, for there was great danger of being detected ; he therefore had recourse to the following contrivance. Having taken a folding tablet, he scraped off the wax, and then wrote the king's intention on the wood of the tablet ; and having done this, he melted the wax again over the writing, in order that the tablet, being carried with nothing written on it, might occasion him no trouble from the guards upon the road. When it arrived at Sparta, the Lacedæmonians were unable to comprehend it ; until, as I am informed, Gorgo, daughter of Cleomenes, and wife to Leonidas, made a suggestion, having considered the matter with herself, and bade them scrape off the wax, and they would find letters written on the wood. They, having obeyed, found and read the contents, and forwarded them to the rest of the Greeks. These things are reported to have happened in this manner.

BOOK VIII.

URANIA.

THE Greeks who were assigned to the navy, were these. The Athenians, who furnished one hundred and twenty-seven ships ; but the Plataeans, from a spirit of valour and zeal, though inexperienced in the sea-service, assisted the Athenians in manning the ships. The Corinthians furnished forty ships ; the Megareans twenty ; the Chalcidians manned twenty, the Athenians having furnished them with ships ; the Æginetæ, eighteen ; the Sicyonians, twelve ; the Lacedæmonians, ten ; the Epidaurians, eight ; the Eretrians, seven ; the Trœzenians, five ; the Styreans, two ; and the Ceians, two ships, and two penteconters ; the Opuntian Locrians also came to their assistance, with seven penteconters. 2. These, then, were they who were engaged in the war at Artemisium, and I have mentioned how each contributed to the number of the ships. The total of the ships

assembled at Artemisium, besides the penteconters, was two hundred and seventy-one. The admiral, who had the chief power, the Spartans supplied, Eurybiades, son of Euryclides, for the allies had refused "if the Lacedæmonian did not command, to follow Athenian leaders, but *said* they would break up the intended fleet." 3. For from the first there was a talk, even before they sent to Sicily to solicit an alliance, that it would be proper to intrust the navy to the Athenians. But as the allies opposed, the Athenians gave way, deeming it of high importance that Greece should be saved, and knowing that if they should quarrel about the command, Greece would be lost; herein thinking justly. For intestine discord is as much worse than war carried on in concert, as war is than peace. Being, therefore, convinced of this, they did not resist, but yielded as long as they had need of their assistance, as they clearly showed. For when, having repulsed the Persian, they were now contending for his country, they put forward as a pretext the arrogance of Pausanias, and deprived the Lacedæmonians of the chief command. But these things occurred afterwards. 4. But at that time, those Greeks who had arrived at Artemisium, when they saw a vast number of ships drawn up at Aphetæ, and all parts full of troops, since the affairs of the barbarian turned out contrary to their expectation, in great consternation, deliberated about retiring from Artemisium to the inner parts of Greece. The Eubœans, knowing that they were deliberating on this matter, entreated Eurybiades to remain a short time longer, until they could remove their children and domestics to a place of safety. But finding they could not persuade him, they then went over to the Athenian general, and prevailed on Themistocles, by a bribe of thirty talents, to promise that they would stay and engage the enemy by sea before Eubœa. 5. Themistocles, to retain the Greeks, did as follows. Of this money he gave five talents to Eurybiades, as if indeed he gave it from himself; and when he had gained him over, as Adimantus, son of Ocytus, the Corinthian commander, was the only person who resisted, affirming that he would sail away from Artemisium, and not stay, to him Themistocles said with an oath: "You shall not abandon us; for I will make you a greater present than the king of the Medes would send you for abandoning the allies." He at the same time said this and sent three talents of silver on

board the ship of Adimantus. They therefore, being swayed by the present, were gained over, and complied with the wishes of the Eubœans ; but Themistocles himself was a considerable gainer, as he secretly kept the rest ; but those who took part of this money, thought it came from the Athenians, on that condition.

6. They accordingly remained in Eubœa, and came to an engagement by sea. It happened in this manner. When the barbarians arrived at Aphetæ, in the afternoon, having been already informed that a few Grecian ships were stationed, and then descrying them at Artemisium, they were eager to attack, in the hope of taking them. However, they did not think it advisable to sail directly upon them, for the following reasons, lest the Greeks, seeing them sailing towards them, should betake themselves to flight, and the night should cover their retreat, by which means they would escape ; but, according to their saying, they thought that not even the torch-bearer would escape alive. 7. For this purpose, then, they had recourse to the following plan : having detached two hundred ships from the whole fleet, they sent them round, outside Sciathus, that they might not be seen by the enemy sailing round Eubœa, by Caphareus and round Geræstus to the Euripus ; that so they might surround them, the one party arriving at the place appointed in that way, and intercepting their retreat, and themselves attacking them in front. Having determined on this, they despatched the ships appointed for this service, themselves not intending to attack the Greeks that day, nor before the agreed signal should be seen, given by those who sailed round, announcing their arrival. These, then, they sent round, and set about taking the number of the rest of the ships at Aphetæ. 8. At this time, while they were taking the number of their ships, there was in this camp Scyllias of Scyone, the best diver of his time ; he, in the shipwreck that happened off Pelion, had saved much of their treasure for the Persians, and had acquired a good deal for himself. This Scyllias had long before entertained the design of deserting to the Greeks, but had had no opportunity of doing so until that time. In what way he at length made his escape to the Grecians I cannot certainly affirm, and I wonder whether the account given is true. For it is said, that having plunged into the sea at Aphetæ, he never rose until he reached Arte-

misium, having passed this distance through the sea, as near as can be, eighty stadia. Many other things are related of this man that are very like falsehood, and some that are true. If, however, I may give my opinion of this matter, it is, that he came to Artemisium in a boat. On his arrival, he immediately informed the commanders of the shipwreck, how it had occurred, and of the ships that were sent round Eubœa. 9. The Greeks, having heard this, held a conference among themselves; and, after much debate, it was resolved, that remaining there and continuing in their station during that day, then, when midnight was passed, they should proceed, and meet the ships that were sailing round. But after this, when no ship sailed against them, having waited for the evening of the day, they sailed of themselves against the barbarians, being desirous to make trial of their manner of fighting, and of breaking through the line. 10. The other soldiers of Xerxes, and the commanders, seeing them sailing towards them with so few ships, attributed their conduct to madness, and on their part got their ships under weigh, expecting that they should easily take them; and their expectations were very reasonable, when they saw that the Grecian ships were few, and their own many more in number, and better sailers: taking these things into consideration, they enclosed them in the middle of a circle. Now, such of the Ionians as were well-affected to the Greeks, and joined the expedition unwillingly, regarded it as a great calamity, when they saw them surrounded, feeling convinced that not one of them would return; so weak did the Grecian forces appear to them to be. But such as were pleased with what was going on, vied with each other how each might be the first to take an Athenian ship, and receive a reward from the king. For throughout the fleet they had the highest opinion of the Athenians. 11. When the signal was given to the Greeks, first of all turning their prows against the barbarians, they contracted their sterns inwardly to the middle; and when the second signal was given, they commenced the attack, though enclosed in a narrow space, and that prow to prow. On this occasion they took thirty ships of the barbarians, and Philaon, son of Chersis, the brother of Gorgus, king of the Salaminians, a man highly esteemed in their army. Lycomedes, son of Æschreus, an Athenian, was the first of the Greeks who took a

ship from the enemy, and he received the palm of valour. But night coming on, separated the combatants, who in this engagement fought with doubtful success. The Greeks returned to Artemisium, and the barbarians to Aphetæ, having fought with far different success than they expected. In this engagement Antidorus, a Lemnian, was the only one of the Greeks in the king's service who went over to the Grecians; and on that account the Athenians presented him with lands in Salamis.

12. When night came on, and it was now the middle of summer, heavy rain fell through the whole night, and violent thunder about Pelion; but the dead bodies and pieces of wreck were driven to Aphetæ, and got entangled round the prows of the ships, and impeded the blades of the oars. But the soldiers who were on board, when they heard the thunder, were seized with terror, expecting that they must certainly perish, into such calamities had they fallen. For before they had recovered breath, after the wreck and tempest that had occurred off Pelion, a fierce engagement followed; and after the engagement, impetuous rain and mighty torrents rushing into the sea, and violent thunder. Such was the night to them. 13. But to those who had been appointed to sail round Eubœa, this same night proved so much the more wild, in that it fell upon them while they were in the open sea; and the end was grievous to them; for as they were sailing, the storm and rain overtook them when they were near the Cœla of Eubœa, and being driven by the wind, and not knowing where they were driven, they were dashed upon the rocks. All this was done by the deity, that the Persian might be brought to an equality with the Grecian, or at least not be greatly superior. Thus they perished near the Cœla of Eubœa. 14. The barbarians at Aphetæ, when to their great joy day dawned, kept their ships at rest, and were content, after they had suffered so much, to remain quiet for the present. But three and fifty Attic ships came to reinforce the Greeks; and both these by their arrival gave them additional courage, as did the news that came at the same time, that those of the barbarians who were sailing round Eubœa had all perished in the late storm; therefore having waited to the same hour, they set sail and attacked the Cilician ships, and

having destroyed them, as soon as it was night they sailed back to Artemisium.

15. On the third day the commanders of the barbarians, indignant at being insulted by so few ships, and fearing the displeasure of Xerxes, no longer waited for the Greeks to begin the battle; but encouraging one another, got under weigh about the middle of the day. It happened that these actions by sea and those by land at Thermopylæ took place on the same days; and the whole struggle for those at sea was for the Euripus, as for those with Leonidas to guard the pass. The one party encouraging each other not to suffer the barbarians to enter Greece; and the other, to destroy the Grecian forces, and make themselves masters of the channel. 16. When the barbarians, having formed in line, sailed onwards, the Grecians remained still at Artemisium; but the barbarians, having drawn up their ships in the form of a crescent, encircled them as if they would take them; whereupon the Greeks sailed out to meet them, and engaged. In this battle they were nearly equal to one another; for the fleet of Xerxes, by reason of its magnitude and number, impeded itself, as the ships incommoded and ran foul of one another: however they continued to fight, and would not yield, for they were ashamed to be put to flight by a few ships. Accordingly many ships of the Grecians perished, and many men; and of the barbarians a much greater number both of ships and men. Having fought in this manner they separated from each other. 17. In this engagement the Egyptians signalized themselves among the forces of Xerxes; for they both achieved other great actions, and took five Grecian ships, with their crews. On the part of the Greeks, the Athenians signalized themselves on this day, and among the Athenians, Clinias, son of Alcibiades; who at his own expense joined the fleet with two hundred men, and a ship of his own.

18. When they had separated, each gladly hastened to their own stations: but the Grecians, when, having left the battle, they had withdrawn, were in possession of the dead and of the wrecks; yet having been severely handled, and especially the Athenians, the half of whose ships were disabled, they consulted about a retreat to the interior of Greece. 19. But Themistocles having considered with himself, that if the Ioni-

ans and Carians could be detached from the barbarian, they would be able to overcome the rest; as the Eubœans were driving their cattle down to the shore, he there assembled the Grecian commanders together, and told them that he thought he had a contrivance, by which he hoped to draw off the best of the king's allies. This, then, he so far discovered to them, but in the present state of affairs he told them what they ought to do; every one should kill as many of the Eubœan cattle as he thought fit; for it was better that their own army should have them than the enemy. He also advised them each to direct their own men to kindle fires; and promised that he would choose such a time for their departure, that they should all arrive safe in Greece. These things they were pleased to do; and forthwith, having kindled fires, they fell upon the cattle. 20. For the Eubœans, disregarding the oracles of Bacis as importing nothing, had neither carried out any thing to a place of safety, nor collected stores, as if war was approaching; and so had brought their affairs into a precarious state. The oracle of Bacis respecting them was as follows: "Beware of the barbarian-tongued, when he shall cast a byblus-yoke across the sea, remove the bleating goats from Eubœa." As they paid no attention to these verses, in the calamities then present and those that were impending, they fell into the greatest distress. 21. They, then, were acting thus, and in that conjuncture the scout arrived from Trachis. For there was a scout stationed off Artemisium, Polyas of Anticyra, who had been ordered, (and he had a well-furnished boat ready,) if the fleet should be in difficulty, to make it known to those that were at Thermopylæ; and in like manner Abronychus, son of Lysicles an Athenian, was with Leonidas, ready to carry the tidings to those at Artemisium in a triëconter, if any reverse should happen to the land-forces. This Abronychus then arriving, informed them of what had befallen Leonidas and his army; but they, when they heard it, no longer deferred their departure, but retired each in the order in which they were stationed, the Corinthians first, and the Athenians last.

22. Themistocles, having selected the best sailing ships of the Athenians, went to the places where there was water fit for drinking, and engraved upon the stones inscriptions, which the Ionians, upon arriving next day at Artemisium,

read. The inscriptions were to this effect: "Men of Ionia, you do wrong in fighting against your fathers, and helping to enslave Greece: rather, therefore, come over to us; or, if you cannot do that, withdraw your forces from the contest, and entreat the Carians to do the same. But if neither of these things is possible, and you are bound by too strong a necessity to revolt, yet in action, when we are engaged, behave ill on purpose, remembering that you are descended from us, and that the enmity of the barbarian against us originally sprung from you." Themistocles, in my opinion, wrote this with two objects in view; that either, if the inscriptions escaped the notice of the king, he might induce the Ionians to change sides and come over to them; or, if they were reported to him, and made a subject of accusation before Xerxes, they might make the Ionians suspected, and cause them to be excluded from the sea-fights. 23. Themistocles left this inscription, and immediately afterwards a certain Histiaean came to the barbarians in a boat, announcing the flight of the Greeks from Artemisium; but they, through distrust, kept the man who brought the news under guard, and despatched some swift vessels to reconnoitre. When they reported the truth as it was, the whole fleet, as soon as the sun's rays were spread, sailed in a body to Artemisium; and having waited in that place until mid-day, they then sailed to Histiaea, and on their arrival possessed themselves of the city of the Histiaians, and ravaged all the maritime villages of the Ellopiian district, in the territory of Histiaetis.

24. Whilst they were on this coast, Xerxes, having made preparations with respect to the dead, sent a herald to the fleet. And he made the following previous preparations. Of those of his own army, who were slain at Thermopylae, and they were about twenty thousand, of these having left about one thousand, the remainder, having caused pits to be dug, he buried, throwing leaves over them and heaping up earth, that they might not be seen by those who should come from the fleet. When the herald crossed over to Histiaea, having convened a meeting of the whole encampment, he spoke as follows: "Allies, king Xerxes permits any of you who please, to leave his post and come and see how he fights against those senseless men, who hoped to overcome the king's power." 25. After he had made this announcement, nothing was more

scarce than boats, so many were anxious to behold the sight; and having crossed over, they went through and viewed the dead; and all thought that those that lay there were all Lacedæmonians and Thespians, though they also saw the Helots: however Xerxes did not deceive those who had crossed over by what he had done with respect to his own dead, for indeed it was ridiculous; of the one party a thousand dead were seen lying; but the others lay all heaped up together, to the number of four thousand. This day they spent in the view, and on the next they returned to Histiaæ, to their ships, and those with Xerxes set out on their march. 26. Some few deserters came to them from Arcadia, in want of subsistence, and wished to be actively employed: taking these men into the king's presence, the Persians inquired concerning the Greeks, what they were doing. One in particular it was who asked them this question. They answered, that they were celebrating the Olympic games, and viewing gymnastic combats and horse-races. He then asked, what was the reward proposed to them, for which they contended. They mentioned the crown of olive that is given. Upon which Tritantæchmes, son of Artabanus, having uttered a noble sentiment, incurred the charge of cowardice from the king: for having heard that the prize was a crown, and not riches, he could not remain silent, but spoke as follows before all: "Heavens, Mardonius, against what kind of men have you brought us to fight, who contend not for wealth, but for glory!" This, then, was said by him.

27. In the mean time, and when the defeat had occurred at Thermopylæ, the Thessalians immediately sent a herald to the Phocians, as they had always¹ entertained a grudge against them, and particularly since their last defeat. For not many years before this expedition of the king, the Thessalians themselves and their allies, having invaded the territories of the Phocians with all their forces, had been worsted by the Phocians and roughly handled. For when the Phocians had been shut up in Mount Parnassus, having with them the Elean prophet Tellias, this Tellias thereupon devised the following stratagem for them. Having smeared over with chalk six hundred of the bravest Phocians, both the men themselves and their armour, he attacked the Thessalians by night, having ordered them to kill every man they should see not covered

¹ See B. VII. chap. 176.

with white. The sentinels of the Thessalians, accordingly, seeing them first, were terrified, supposing it was some strange prodigy, and after the sentinels, the whole army, so that the Phocians got possession of four thousand dead and shields; of these they dedicated one half at Abæ, and the other at Delphi. The tenth of the treasures taken in this battle composed those great statues which stand about the tripod in the front of the temple at Delphi, and others like them were dedicated at Abæ. 28. Thus the Phocians dealt with the infantry of the Thessalians, who were besieging them; and they inflicted an irreparable blow on their cavalry, when they made an irruption into their territory; for in the entrance which is near Hyampolis, having dug a large pit, they put empty jars in it, and having heaped soil over and made it like the rest of the ground, they waited the attack of the Thessalians; but they, hoping to overwhelm the Phocians, being borne violently on, fell among the jars, whereupon the horses had their legs broken. 29. The Thessalians, bearing a grudge against them for these two things, sent a herald and made the following announcement: "O Phocians, now at length learn better, and know that you are not equal to us. For both before among the Greeks, as long as that party pleased us, we always proved superior to you; and now, we have so great influence with the barbarian, that it is in our power to deprive you of your country; and, moreover, to reduce you to slavery. We, however, though possessing full power, are not mindful of injuries; therefore, let fifty talents of silver be given us by way of reparation, and we promise you to avert the evils that impend over your country."

30. The Thessalians sent them this message. For the Phocians were the only people of those parts who did not side with the Mede; for no other reason, as I conjecture, than their hatred of the Thessalians; but if the Thessalians had taken part with the Greeks, in my opinion the Phocians would have sided with the Mede. When the Thessalians sent this message, they said they would not give money, and that it was in their power to join the Mede as well as the Thessalians, if only they chose to do so; but that they would not willingly be traitors to Greece. 31. When this answer was brought back, the Thessalians thereupon, being incensed with the Phocians, became guides to the barbarian; and, accord-

ingly, they entered from Trachinia into Doris. For a narrow strip of Doric territory extends that way, about thirty stades in breadth, and situate between the Malian and Phocian territory, and which was anciently Dryopis. This region is the mother country of the Dorians in Peloponnesus. The barbarians, in their passage through, did not ravage this Doric territory; for the inhabitants sided with the Mede, and the Thessalians wished them not to do so. 32. When they entered from the Doric to the Phocian territory, they did not take the Phocians themselves, for some of the Phocians had ascended to the heights of Parnassus; and the summit of Parnassus lying near the city of Neon, which stands apart, is well adapted to receive a multitude; its name is Tithorea; to this, then, they carried their property, and ascended themselves: but the greater number of them had conveyed their effects to the Locrian Ozolæ, to the city of Amphissa, which is situate on the Crisæan plain. But the barbarians overran the whole Phocian territory. 33. For marching this way along the river Cephissus, they ravaged the whole country, and burnt down the cities of Drymus, Charadra, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphicæa, Neon, Pedieæ, Triteæ, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, and Abæ; where was a rich temple of Apollo, adorned with many treasures and offerings, and there was then, and still is, an oracle there; this temple they plundered and burnt; and pursuing some of the Phocians, they took them near the mountains; and they caused the death of some women, by having intercourse with them in great numbers. 34. The barbarians having passed by Parapotamii, arrived at Panopeæ, and from thence, their army being divided, proceeded in two bodies. The largest and most powerful part of the army marching with Xerxes himself towards Athens, entered Bœotia, at the territory of the Orchomenians. But the Bœotians sided with the Mede; Macedonian soldiers therefore posted in different places, having been sent by Alexander, saved their cities; and they saved them in order by this means to make it known to Xerxes that the Bœotians favoured the cause of the Medes. These barbarians, then, took this route.

35. The rest of them, having guides, proceeded towards the temple of Delphi, keeping Parnassus on their right: and whatever parts of Phocis they came to, they pillaged; for they set fire to the city of the Panopians, and of the Daulians, and

the Æolidæ. They marched this way detached from the rest of the army for this reason, that having plundered the temple at Delphi, they might present the treasures to king Xerxes. But Xerxes, as I am informed, knew every thing that was of value in the temple better than what he had left at home, many persons continually telling him, especially of the offerings of Cræsus, son of Alyattes. 36. The Delphians having heard of this, fell into a great consternation; and being in a state of great terror, consulted the oracle respecting the sacred treasures, whether they should hide them under ground, or transport them to another country. But the god would not suffer them to be moved; saying, "that he was able to protect his own." The Delphians having received this answer, began to think of themselves: accordingly they sent their children and wives across to Achaia; and the greater part of the men ascended to the tops of Parnassus, and carried their effects into the Corycian cavern; whilst others withdrew to the Locrian Amphissa. Thus all the Delphians abandoned the city, except only sixty men, and the prophet. 37. When the barbarians were advanced near, and saw the temple in the distance, then the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, saw the sacred arms, which it was not lawful for any mortal to touch, lying before the temple, having been brought out from within the fane. He therefore went to make known the prodigy to the Delphians who were at hand. But when the barbarians, hastening their march, were near the temple of Minerva Pronæa prodigies still greater than the former succeeded. And this indeed is a great wonder, that warlike instruments should be seen, self-moved, lying before the temple, yet the second prodigies, which succeeded after this, are worthy of admiration beyond all other portents. For when the barbarians had advanced near the temple of Minerva Pronæa, at that moment thunder fell on them from heaven, and two crags, broken away from Parnassus, bore down upon them with a loud crash, and killed many of them, and a loud cry and a war-shout issued from the temple of the Pronæa. 38. All these things being commingled together, a panic struck the barbarians; and the Delphians, having learnt that they had fled, came down after them, and slew a great number of them: the survivors fled direct into Bœotia. Those of the barbarians who returned, as I am informed, declared, that besides these they saw other mira-

culous things, for that two heavy-armed men, of more than human stature, followed them, slaying and pursuing them. 39. The Delphians say these two were heroes of the country Phylacus and Autonus, whose precincts are near the temple ; that of Phylacus by the road-side, above the temple of the Pronæa ; and that of Autonus, near the Castalian spring under the Hyampeian summit. The rocks that fell from Parnassus were still preserved in my time, lying in the enclosure of Minerva Pronæa, where they fell when borne among the barbarians. Such, then, was the retreat of these men from the temple.

40. The Grecian fleet from Artemisium, at the request of the Athenians, put in at Salamis. For this reason the Athenians requested them to direct their course to Salamis, that they might remove their children and wives out of Attica, and moreover might consult of what measures were to be taken. For in the present posture of affairs they intended to hold a consultation, as they had been disappointed in their expectation. For whereas they expected to find the Peloponnesians with all their forces waiting in Bœotia to receive the barbarian, they found nothing of the kind ; but were informed that they were fortifying the isthmus leading into the Peloponnesus, considering it of the greatest importance that it should be saved, and that, keeping guard there, they gave up all the rest. Having been informed of this, they therefore entreated them to direct their course to Salamis. 41. The rest therefore held on to Salamis, but the Athenians to their own country ; and on their arrival they caused proclamation to be made, " that every one should save his children and family by the best means he could." Thereupon the greatest part sent away *their families* to Trœzene, some to Ægina, and others to Salamis. They used all diligence to remove them to a place of safety, both from a desire to obey the oracle, and more particularly for the following reason : the Athenians say, that a large serpent used to live in the temple as a guard to the Acropolis ; they both say this, and, as if it were really there, they do it honour by placing before it its monthly food ; the monthly food consists of a honey-cake : this honey-cake having been in former time always consumed, now remained untouched. When the priestess made this known, the Athenians with more readiness abandoned the city, since even the goddess had forsaken the Acropolis. As soon as every thing had

been deposited in a place of safety, they sailed to the encampment. 42. When those from Artemisium stationed their ships at Salamis, the rest of the naval forces of the Greeks being informed of this joined them from Trœzene; for they had been ordered to assemble at Pogon, a harbour of the Trœzenians. Many more ships were assembled together than had fought at Artemisium, and from a greater number of cities. The same admiral commanded them as at Artemisium, Eurybiades, son of Euryclides, a Spartan, though he was not of the royal family: the Athenians, however, furnished by far the most and the best sailing ships.

43. The following joined the fleet. From the Peloponnesus, the Lacedæmonians, furnishing sixteen ships; the Corinthians, furnishing the same number as at Artemisium; the Sicyonians furnished fifteen ships; the Epidaurians, ten; the Trœzenians, five; and the Hermionians, three; all these, except the Hermionians, being of Doric and Macednic extraction, having come from Erineum, and Pindus, and last of all from Dryopis. The Hermionians are Dryopians, driven out by Hercules and the Malians, from the country now called Doris. These, then, of the Peloponnesians served in the fleet. 44. The following were from the outer continent: the Athenians, beyond all the rest, alone furnished one hundred and eighty ships; for at Salamis the Plataeans did not join their forces to the Athenians, on account of the following circumstance. When the Greeks retired from Artemisium, and were off Chalcis, the Plataeans, having landed on the opposite coast in Bœotia, set about carrying away their families: they, therefore, while saving them, were left behind. The Athenians, when the Pelasgians possessed that which is now called Greece, were Pelasgians, and went by the name of Cranai: under the reign of Cecrops, they were surnamed Cecropidæ; but when Erectheus succeeded to the government, they changed their name for that of Athenians; and when Ion, son of Xuthus, became their leader, from him they were called Ionians. 45. The Megarenes furnished the same complement as at Artemisium; the Ambraciots assisted with seven ships; and the Leucadians, three, these are of Doric extraction, from Corinth. 46. Of the islanders, the Æginetæ furnished thirty ships; they had also other ships ready manned, but with some they guarded their own country, and with thirty the best sailing

vessels, they fought at Salamis. The Æginetæ are Dorians, from Epidaurus, and their island formerly had the name of Ænone. Next to the Æginetæ, the Chalcidians furnished the same twenty as at Artemisium, and the Eretrians the same seven: these are Ionians. Next, the Ceians furnished the same; they are of Ionian extraction, from Athens. The Naxians furnished four; though they had been sent by their fellow-citizens to join the Medes, like the rest of the islanders; but disregarding their orders, they went over to the Greeks, at the instigation of Democritus, a man eminent amongst the citizens, and then commander of a trireme. The Naxians also are Ionians, sprung from Athens. The Styreans furnished the same ships as at Artemisium; the Cythnians one, and a penteconter: both these people are Dryopians. The Seriphians, the Siphnians, and the Malians also joined the fleet; for they only of the islanders refused to give earth and water to the barbarian. 47. All these nations, situate on this side the Thesprotians and the river Acheron, joined the fleet; for the Thesprotians border on the Ampraciot and Leucadians, who joined the fleet from the most distant countries. Of those that dwell beyond them, the Crotoniatæ were the only people who came to assist Greece in this time of danger, with one ship, which Phayllus, who had thrice been victorious in the Pythian games, commanded. The Crotoniatæ are Achæans by extraction. 48. Now the rest joined the fleet, furnishing triremes; but the Malians, Siphnians, and Seriphians, penteconters. The Malians, who are by extraction from Lacedæmon, furnished two; the Siphnians and the Seriphians, who are Ionians from Athens, one each. So that the whole number of ships, besides the penteconters, amounted to three hundred and seventy-eight.

49. When the leaders from the above-mentioned cities met together at Salamis, they held a council, *in which* Eurybiades proposed that any one who chose should deliver his opinion, where he thought it would be most advantageous to come to an engagement by sea, of all the places of which they were still in possession: for Attica was already given up, and he made this proposition concerning the rest. Most of the opinions of those who spoke coincided, that they should sail to the Isthmus, and fight before Peloponnesus; alleging this reason, that if they should be conquered by sea while they were at

Salamis, they should be besieged in the island, where no succour could reach them; but if at the Isthmus, they might escape to their own cities.

50. While the commanders from Peloponnesus were debating these matters, an Athenian arrived with intelligence, that the barbarian had entered Attica, and was devastating the whole of it by fire. For the army with Xerxes, having taken its route through Bœotia, after having burnt the city of the Thespians, who had departed to Peloponnesus, and likewise the city of the Plataeans, had arrived at Athens, and was laying waste every part of it. They set fire to Thespia and Plataea, being informed by the Thebans that they were not on the side of the Medes. 51. From the passage over the Hellespont, thence the barbarians began to march, having spent one month there, including the time they were crossing over into Europe; in three months more they were in Attica, when Calliades was archon of the Athenians. They took the city, deserted of inhabitants, but found some few of the Athenians in the temple, with the treasurers of the temple, and some poor people; who, having fortified the Acropolis with planks and stakes, tried to keep off the invaders: they had not withdrawn to Salamis, partly through want of means, and moreover they thought they had found out the meaning of the oracle which the Pythian delivered to them, that the wooden wall "should be impregnable;" *imagining*, that this was the refuge according to the oracle, and not the ships. 52. The Persians, posting themselves on the hill opposite the Acropolis, which the Athenians call the Areopagus, besieged them in the following manner: when they had wrapped tow round their arrows, and set fire to it, they shot them at the fence. Thereupon those Athenians who were besieged, still defended themselves, though driven to the last extremity, and the fence had failed them; nor, when the Pisistratidæ proposed them, would they listen to terms of capitulation; but still defending themselves, they both contrived other means of defence, and when the barbarians approached the gates, they hurled down large round stones; so that Xerxes was for a long time kept in perplexity, not being able to capture them. 53. At length, in the midst of these difficulties, an entrance was discovered by the barbarians; for it was necessary, according to the oracle, that all Attica, on the continent, should be subdued by the

Persians. In front of the Acropolis, then, but behind the gates and the road up, where neither any one kept guard, nor would ever have expected that any man would ascend that way, there some of them ascended near the temple of Cecrops' daughter Aglauros, although the place was precipitous. When the Athenians saw that they had ascended to the Acropolis, some threw themselves down from the wall and perished, and others took refuge in the recess of the temple. But the Persians who had ascended first turned to the gates, and having opened them, put the suppliants to death: and when all were thrown prostrate, having pillaged the temple, they set fire to the whole Acropolis.

54. Xerxes having entire possession of Athens, despatched a messenger on horseback to Susa, to announce to Artabanus his present success. And on the second day after the despatch of the herald, having summoned the exiled Athenians who attended him, he ordered them to offer sacrifices after their own manner, having ascended to the Acropolis; whether he gave this order from having seen a vision in a dream, or a religious scruple came upon him for having set fire to the temple. The exiles of the Athenians performed what was commanded. 55. Why I have recorded these things, I will now mention. There is in this Acropolis a shrine of Erectheus, who is said to be earth-born: in this is an olive-tree and a sea; which, as the story goes among the Athenians, Neptune and Minerva, when contending for the country, placed there as testimonies. Now it happened that this olive-tree was burnt by the barbarians with the rest of the temple; but on the second day after the burning, the Athenians who were ordered by the king to sacrifice, when they went up to the temple, saw a shoot from the stump, sprung up to the height of a cubit. This they affirmed.

56. The Greeks at Salamis, when intelligence was brought them how matters were with respect to the Acropolis of the Athenians, were thrown into such consternation, that some of the generals would not wait until the subject before them was decided on, but rushed to their ships and hoisted sail, as about to hurry away; by such of them as remained it was determined to come to an engagement before the Isthmus. Night came on, and they, being dismissed from the council, went on board their ships. 57. Thereupon Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, inquired of Themistocles, on his return to his ship, what had

been determined on by them. And being informed by him that it was resolved to conduct the ships to the Isthmus, and to come to an engagement before the Peloponnesus, he said, "If they remove the ships from Salamis, you will no longer fight for any country; for they will each betake themselves to their cities; and neither will Eurybiades nor any one else be able to detain them, so that the fleet should not be dispersed; and Greece will perish through want of counsel. But, if there is any possible contrivance, go and endeavour to annul the decree, if by any means you can induce Eurybiades to alter his determination, so as to remain here. 58. The suggestion pleased Themistocles exceedingly; and without giving any answer he went to the ship of Eurybiades; and on reaching it he said that he wished to confer with him on public business. He desired him to come on board his ship, and say what he wished. Thereupon Themistocles, seating himself by him, repeated all that he had heard from Mnesiphilus, making it his own, and adding much more, until he prevailed on him, by entreaty, to leave his ship, and assemble the commanders in council. 59. When they were assembled, before Eurybiades brought forward the subject on account of which he had convened the commanders, Themistocles spoke much, as being very earnest; and as he was speaking, the Corinthian general, Adimantus, son of Ocytus, said: "O Themistocles, in the games those who start before the time are beaten with stripes." But he, excusing himself, answered: "But they who are left behind are not crowned." 60. At that time he answered the Corinthian mildly. But to Eurybiades he said not a word of what he had before mentioned, that if they should remove from Salamis, they would disperse themselves; for when the allies were present it would be by no means becoming in him to accuse any one; he therefore made use of another argument, speaking as follows: (1.) "It rests now with you to save Greece, if you will listen to me, and, remaining here, give battle, and not attend to those who advise you to remove the fleet to the Isthmus. For hear and compare each opinion. In engaging near the Isthmus, you will fight in the open sea, where it is least advantageous to us, who have heavier ships and fewer in number. Besides, you will lose Salamis, and Megara, and Ægina, even if we succeed in other respects: for the land-forces will follow close upon their navy; thus

you will yourself lead them to the Peloponnesus, and expose all Greece to danger. (2.) But if you should do what I advise, you will find the following advantages in it. First of all, by engaging in a narrow space with few ships against many, if the probable results of war happen, we shall be much superior. For to fight in a narrow space is advantageous to us; but in a wide space, to them. Again: Salamis is preserved, in which our children and wives are deposited: Moreover, there is advantage in the plan I advise, for which, too, you are very anxious: by remaining here, you will fight for the Peloponnesus just as much as at the Isthmus; nor, if you are wise, will you lead them to the Peloponnesus. (3.) But if what I hope should happen, and we conquer with our fleet, neither will the barbarians come to you at the Isthmus, nor will they advance farther than Attica, but will retreat in disorder, and we shall gain, by saving Megara, and Ægina, and Salamis, where it is announced by an oracle we shall be superior to our enemies. To men who determine on what is reasonable, corresponding results are for the most part wont to follow; but to those who do not determine on what is reasonable, the deity is not wont to further human designs.” 61. When Themistocles had spoken thus, Adimantus the Corinthian again attacked him, bidding him who had no country be silent, and urging Eurybiades not to go to the vote for a man who had no city; for when Themistocles showed a city, then he would allow him to give his suffrage. He threw out this against him, because Athens had been taken and was in the possession of the enemy. Then, at length, Themistocles spoke with much severity of Adimantus and the Corinthians; and showed by his speech that the Athenians themselves had a city and a territory greater than they, so long as they had two hundred ships fully manned; for that none of the Greeks could repel their attack. 62. Having intimated this, he transferred his discourse to Eurybiades, saying with greater earnestness: “If you remain here, by remaining you will show yourself a brave man;—if not, you will subvert Greece: for the whole success of the war depends on our fleet; therefore yield to my advice. But if you will not do so, we, as we are, will take our families on board and remove to Siris in Italy, which is an ancient possession of ours, and oracles say it is fated to be founded by us. And you, when bereft of such allies, will remember

my words." 63. When Themistocles had spoken thus, Eurybiades changed his opinion: in my opinion, he changed his opinion chiefly from a dread of the Athenians, lest they should desert them, if he took the fleet to the Isthmus. For if the Athenians deserted them, the rest would no longer be a match for the enemy. He, therefore, adopted this advice, to stay there and come to a decisive engagement. 64. Thus they at Salamis, having skirmished in words, when Eurybiades had come to a determination, made preparations to come to an engagement there. Day came, and at sun-rise an earthquake took place on land and at sea. They determined to pray to the gods, and to invoke the Æacidæ as allies; and as they had determined, so they did. For having prayed to all the gods, they forthwith, from Salamis, invoked Ajax and Telamon; and sent a ship to Ægina for Æacus and the Æacidæ. 65. Dicæus, son of Theócydes, an Athenian, and an exile at that time esteemed by the Medes, related, that when the Attic territory was being devastated by the land-forces of Xerxes, having been deserted by the Athenians, he happened then to be with Demaratus the Lacedæmonian, in the Thriasian plain; and he saw a cloud of dust coming from Eleusis, as if occasioned by about thirty thousand men: they were wondering at the cloud of dust, from whatever it might proceed, and suddenly heard a voice, and the voice appeared to him to be that of the mystic Iacchus. Demaratus was unacquainted with the mysteries of Eleusis, and asked Dicæus what it might be that was uttered; but he said: "O Demaratus, it cannot be otherwise than that some great damage will befall the king's army. For this is clear, since Attica is deserted, that what is uttered is supernatural, proceeding from Eleusis to the assistance of the Athenians and the allies. And if it should rush towards the Peloponnesus, there will be danger to the king himself and his army on the continent; but if it should turn toward the ships at Salamis, the king will be in danger of losing his naval armament. The Athenians celebrate this feast every year to the Mother and the Damsel,² and whoever wishes of them and the other Greeks is initiated; and the sound, which you hear, they shout in this very festival." To this Demaratus said: "Be silent, and tell this story to no one else; for if these words should be reported to the king, you

² Ceres and Proserpine.

would lose your head; and neither should I nor any other human being be able to save you. Keep quiet, therefore; and the gods will take care of the army." He, accordingly, gave this advice. But from the dust and voice there arose a cloud, and being raised aloft it was borne towards Salamis, to the encampment of the Greeks. Thus they understood that the fleet of Xerxes was about to perish. This account Dicæus, son of Theocydes, gave, calling on Demaratus and others as witnesses.

66. When the men belonging to the fleet of Xerxes, having viewed the Lacedæmonian loss, crossed over from Trachis to Histiaæa, they remained there three days, and then sailed through the Euripus, and in three days more arrived off Phalerus. In my opinion, they were not fewer in number when they entered Athens, as well those that came by the continent as those in the ships, than when they arrived at Sepias and at Thermopylæ. For I set off against those that perished by the storm, and at Thermopylæ, and at the sea-fight at Artemisium, the following who at that time did not attend the king: the Malians, Dorians, Locrians, and Bœotians, who attended with all their forces, except the Thespians and Plataeans; and besides, the Carystians, Andrians, Tenians, and all the rest of the islanders, except the five cities whose names I have before mentioned: for the farther the Persian advanced into the interior of Greece, a greater number of nations attended him. 67. When, therefore, all these, except the Parians, arrived at Athens, the Parians, being left behind at Cythnus, watched the war, in what way it would turn out; when, however, the rest arrived at Phalerus, then Xerxes himself went down to the ships, wishing to mix with them, and to learn the opinions of those on board. When he had arrived and taken the first seat, the tyrants and admirals of the several nations, being summoned from their ships, came, and seated themselves according as the king had given precedence to each: first, the Sidonian king; next, the Tyrian; and then the others. When they had seated themselves in due order, Xerxes, having sent Mardonius, asked, in order to make trial of the disposition of each, whether he should come to an engagement by sea. 68. When Mardonius, going round, asked the question, beginning from the Sidonian, all the others gave an opinion to the same effect, advising that battle should

be given, but Artemisia spoke as follows: "Tell the king from me, Mardonius, that I say this. It is right that I, sire, who proved myself by no means a coward in the sea-fight off Eubœa, and performed achievements not inferior to others, should declare my real opinion, *and state* what I think best for your interest. Therefore I say this, abstain from using your ships, nor risk a sea-fight; for these men are as much superior to your men by sea, as men are to women. And why must you run a risk by a naval engagement? Have you not possession of Athens, for the sake of which you undertook this expedition, and have you not the rest of Greece? No one stands in your way; and those who still held out against you, have fared as they deserved. (2.) In what way the affairs of your enemies will turn out, I will now say. If you should not hasten to engage in a sea-fight, but keep your fleet here, remaining near land, or even advancing to the Peloponnesus, you will easily effect what you came purposing to do. For the Greeks will not be able to hold out long against you; but you will disperse them, and they will respectively fly to their cities. For neither have they provisions in this island, as I am informed, nor is it probable, if you march your land-forces against the Peloponnesus, that those of them who came from thence, will remain quiet; nor will they care to fight by sea for the Athenians. (3.) But if you should hasten forthwith to engage, I fear lest the sea-forces, being worsted, should at the same time bring ruin on the land-forces. Besides, O king, consider this, that the good among men commonly have bad slaves, and the bad ones, good; and you, who are the best of all men, have bad slaves, who are said to be in the number of allies, such as the Egyptians, Cyprians, Cilicians, and Pamphylians, who are of no use at all." 69. When she said this to Mardonius, such as were well affected to Artemisia were grieved at her words, thinking she would suffer some harm at the king's hand, because she dissuaded him from giving battle by sea: but those who hated and envied her, as being honoured above all the allies, were delighted with her decision, thinking she would be ruined. When, however, the opinions were reported to Xerxes, he was very much pleased with the opinion of Artemisia; and having before thought her an admirable woman, he then praised her much more. However, he gave orders to follow the advice of the majority in this matter

thinking that they had behaved ill at Eubœa on purpose, because he was not present ; he now prepared in person to behold them engaging by sea.

70. When they gave the signal for putting to sea, they got the ships under weigh for Salamis, and drew up near it, taking their stations in silence : at that time, however, there was not day enough for them to enter on a naval engagement ; for night was coming on, they therefore held themselves in readiness for the next day. But fear and dismay took possession of the Greeks, and not least those from Peloponnesus. They were dismayed, because, being posted at Salamis, they were about to fight for the territory of the Athenians ; and if conquered, they would be shut up and besieged in the island, having left their own country defenceless. 71. The land-forces of the barbarians marched that same night against the Peloponnesus ; although every possible expedient had been contrived to hinder the barbarians from entering by the main land. For as soon as the Peloponnesians heard that those with Leonidas at Thermopylæ had perished, they flocked together from the cities and stationed themselves at the Isthmus ; and Cleombrotus, son of Anaxandrides, and brother of Leonidas, commanded them. Having stationed themselves therefore at the Isthmus, and having blocked up the Scironian way, they then, as they determined on consultation, built a wall across the Isthmus. As they were many myriads in number, and every man laboured, the work progressed rapidly ; for stones, bricks, timber, and baskets full of sand were brought to it, and those who assisted flagged not a moment in their work, either by night or by day. 72. Those who assisted at the Isthmus with all their forces, were the following of the Greeks ; the Lacedæmonians, and all the Arcadians, the Eleans, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Trœzenians, and Hermionians. These were they who assisted, and were very much alarmed at the dangerous situation of Greece : but the rest of the Peloponnesians did not concern themselves about it ; however, the Olympian and Carnian festivals were now past. 73. Seven nations inhabit the Peloponnesus : of these, two, being indigenous, are now seated in the same country in which they originally dwelt, the Arcadians and Cynurians. One nation, the Achæans, never removed from the Peloponnesus, though they did from their own territory, and now occupy

another. The remaining four nations of the seven are foreign, Dorians, Ætolians, Dryopians, and Lemnians. The Dorians have many and celebrated cities; the Ætolians, only Elis: the Dryopians, Hermione and Asine, situate near Cardamyle of Laconia; the Lemnians have all the Paroreatæ. The Cynurians, who are indigenous, are the only people that appear to be Ionians; but they have become Dorians by being governed by the Argives, and through lapse of time, being Orneatæ³ and neighbouring inhabitants. Of these seven nations, the remaining cities, except those I have enumerated, remained neutral; or, if I may speak freely, by remaining neutral, favoured the Mede.

74. Those at the Isthmus, then, persevered with such zeal, as having now to contend for their all, and as they did not expect to distinguish themselves by their fleet; meanwhile, those at Salamis, having heard of these things, were alarmed, not fearing so much for themselves as for the Peloponnesus. For some time one man standing by another began to talk in secret, wondering at the imprudence of Eurybiades; till at last *their discontent* broke out openly, and a council was called, and much was said on the same subject. Some said, that they ought to sail for the Peloponnesus, and hazard a battle for that, and not stay and fight for a place already taken by the enemy; but the Athenians, Æginetæ, and Megareans, that they should stay there and defend themselves. 75. Thereupon, Themistocles, when he saw his opinion was overruled by the Peloponnesians, went secretly out of the council; and having gone out, he despatched a man in a boat to the encampment of the Medes, having instructed him what to say: his name was Sicinnus; and he was a domestic, and preceptor to the children of Themistocles; him, after these events, Themistocles got made a Thespian, when the Thespians augmented the number of their citizens, and gave him a competent fortune. He, then, arriving in the boat, spoke as follows to the generals of the barbarians: "The general of the Athenians has sent me unknown to the rest of the Greeks, (for he is in the interest of the king, and wishes that your affairs

³ Baehr takes the word Orneatæ to describe people who were transplanted from a distance, and made to dwell near Argos. One advantage in following his interpretation is, that it obviates the necessity of altering the text.

may prosper, rather than those of the Greeks,) to inform you, that the Greeks in great consternation are deliberating on flight; and you have now an opportunity of achieving the most glorious of all enterprises, if you do not suffer them to escape. For they do not agree among themselves, nor will they oppose you; but you will see those who are in your interest, and those who are not, fighting with one another." He having delivered this message to them, immediately departed.

76. As these tidings appeared to them worthy of credit, in the first place, they landed a considerable number of Persians on the little island of Psyttalea, lying between Salamis and the continent; and, in the next place, when it was midnight, they got their western wing under weigh, drawing it in a circle towards Salamis, and those who were stationed about Ceos and Cynosura got under weigh and occupied the whole passage as far as Munychia, with their ships. And for this reason they got their ships under weigh, that the Greeks might have no way to escape, but being shut up in Salamis, might suffer punishment for the conflicts at Artemisium; and they landed the Persians at the little island of Psyttalea for this reason, that, when an engagement should take place, as they expected most part of the men and wrecks would be driven thither, (for that island lay in the strait where the engagement was likely to take place,) they might save the one party, and destroy the other. But these things they did in silence, that the enemy might not know what was going on. They therefore made these preparations by night, without taking any rest.

77. I am unable to speak against the oracles as not being true, nor wish to impugn the authority of those that speak clearly, when I look on such occurrences as the following. "When they shall bridge with ships the sacred shore of Diana with the golden sword, and sea-girt Cynosura, having with mad hope destroyed beautiful Athens, then divine Vengeance shall quench strong Presumption, son of Insolence, when thinking to subvert all things. For brass shall engage with brass, and Mars shall redden the sea with blood. Then the far-thundering son of Saturn and benign victory shall bring a day of freedom to Greece." *Looking on* such occurrences, and regarding Bacis, who spoke thus clearly, I neither dare myself say any thing in contradiction to oracles, nor allow others to do so.

78. There was great altercation between the generals at Salamis : and they did not yet know that the barbarians had surrounded them with their ships ; but they supposed that they were in the same place as they had seen them stationed in during the day. 79. While the generals were disputing, Aristides, son of Lysimachus, crossed over from Ægina ; he was an Athenian, but had been banished by ostracism : having heard of his manner of life, I consider him to have been the best and most upright man in Athens. This person, standing at the entrance of the council, called Themistocles out, who was not indeed his friend, but his most bitter enemy ; yet, from the greatness of the impending danger, he forgot that, and called him, wishing to confer with him ; for he had already heard that those from Peloponnesus were anxious to get the ships under weigh for the Isthmus. When Themistocles came out to him, Aristides spoke as follows : “ It is right that we should strive, both on other occasions, and particularly on this, which of us shall do the greatest service to our country. I assure you, that to say little or much to the Peloponnesians about sailing from hence, is the same thing ; for I, an eye-witness, tell you, now, even if they would, neither the Corinthians, nor Eurybiades himself, will be able to sail away ; for we are on all sides enclosed by the enemy. Go in therefore, and acquaint them with this.” 80. He answered as follows : “ You both give very useful advice, and have brought good news ; for you are come yourself as an eye-witness of what I wished should happen. Know, then, that what has been done by the Medes, proceeds from me. For it was necessary, since the Greeks would not willingly come to an engagement, that they should be compelled to it against their will. But do you, since you come bringing good news, announce it to them yourself, for if I tell them, I shall appear to speak from my own invention, and shall not persuade them, as if the barbarians were doing no such thing. But do you go in, and inform them how the case is : and when you have informed them, if they are persuaded, so much the better ; but if they attach no credit to what you say, it will be the same to us : for they can no longer escape by flight, if, as you say, we are surrounded on all sides.” 81. Aristides, going in, gave this account, saying that he came from Ægina, and with difficulty sailed through

unperceived by those that were stationed round ; for that the whole Grecian fleet was surrounded by the ships of Xerxes. He advised them, therefore, to prepare themselves for their defence. And he, having said this, withdrew ; a dispute, however, again arose, for the greater part of the generals gave no credit to the report. 82. While they were still in doubt, there arrived a trireme of Tenians that had deserted, which Panætius, son of Socimenes, commanded, and which brought an account of the whole truth. For that action the name of the Tenians was engraved on the tripod at Delphi, among those who had defeated the barbarian. With this ship that came over at Salamis, and with the Lemnian before, off Artemisium,⁴ the Grecian fleet was made up to the full number of three hundred and eighty ships ; for before it wanted two of that number.

83. When the account given by the Tenians was credited by the Greeks, they prepared for an engagement. Day dawned, and when they had mustered the marines, Themistocles, above all the others, harangued them most eloquently. His speech was entirely taken up in contrasting better things with worse, exhorting them to choose the best of all those things which depended on the nature and condition of man. Having finished his speech, he ordered them to go on board their ships : they accordingly were going on board, when the trireme from Ægina, which had gone to fetch the Æacidæ, returned. Thereupon the Greeks got all their ships under weigh. 84. When they were under weigh, the barbarians immediately fell upon them. Now all the other Greeks began to back water and made for the shore ; but Aminias of Pallene, an Athenian, being carried onwards, attacked a ship ; and his ship becoming entangled with the other, and the crew not being able to clear, the rest thereupon coming to the assistance of Aminias, engaged. Thus the Athenians say the battle commenced ; but the Æginetæ affirm, that the ship which went to Ægina to fetch the Æacidæ, was the first to begin. This is also said, that a phantom of a woman appeared to them, and that on her appearance she cheered them on, so that the whole fleet of the Greeks heard her, after she had first reproached them in these words : “ Dastards, how long will you back water ? ” 85. Opposite the Athenians the Phœnicians were drawn up,

⁴ See chap. 11.

for they occupied the wing towards Eleusis and westward; opposite the Lacedæmonians, the Ionians occupied the wing towards the east and the Piræus. Of these some few behaved ill on purpose, in compliance with the injunctions of Themistocles;⁵ but most of them, not so. I am able to mention the names of several captains of triremes who took Grecian ships; but I shall make no use of them, except of Theomestor, son of Androdamas, and Phylacus, son of Histæus, both Samians. I mention these two only for this reason, because Theomestor, on account of this exploit, was made tyrant of Samos by the appointment of the Persians; and Phylacus was inscribed as a benefactor of the king, and a large tract of land was given him. The benefactors of the king are called in the Persian language, Orosangæ. Such was the case with regard to these men. 86. The greater part of the ships were run down at Salamis; some being destroyed by the Athenians, others by the Æginetæ. For as the Greeks fought in good order, in line, but the barbarians were neither properly formed nor did any thing with judgment, such an event as did happen, was likely to occur. However, they were and proved themselves to be far braver on this day than off Eubœa, every one exerting himself vigorously, and dreading Xerxes; for each thought that he himself was observed by the king.

87. As regards the rest, of some of them I am unable to say with certainty how each of the barbarians or Greeks fought; but with respect to Artemisia, the following incident occurred, by which she obtained still greater credit with the king. For when the king's forces were in great confusion, at that moment the ship of Artemisia was chased by an Attic ship, and she not being able to escape, for before her were other friendly ships, and her own happened to be nearest the enemy, she resolved to do that, which succeeded in the attempt. For being pursued by the Athenian, she bore down upon a friendly ship, manned by Calyndians, and with Damasithymus himself, king of the Calyndians, on board; whether she had any quarrel with him while they were at the Hellespont, I am unable to say, or whether she did it on purpose, or whether the ship of the Calyndians happened by chance to be in her way; however, she ran it down, and sunk it, and

⁵ See chap. 22.

by good fortune gained a double advantage to herself. For the captain of the Attic ship, when he saw her bearing down on a ship of the barbarians, concluding Artemisia's ship to be either a Grecian, or one that had deserted from the enemy and was assisting them, turned aside and attacked others. 88. In the first place, this was the result to her, that she escaped and did not perish; and in the next, it fell out that she having done an injury, in consequence of it, became still more in favour with Xerxes. For it is said, that Xerxes looking on observed her ship making the attack, and that some near him said: "Sire, do you see Artemisia, how well she fights, and has sunk one of the enemy's ships?" Whereupon he asked, if it was in truth the exploit of Artemisia: they answered, "that they knew the ensign of her ship perfectly well;" but they thought that it was an enemy that was sunk. For, as has been mentioned, other things turned out fortunately for her, and this in particular, that no one of the crew of the Calyndian ship was saved so as to accuse her. And it is related that Xerxes said in answer to their remarks: "My men have become women, and my women, men." They relate that Xerxes said this.

89. In this battle perished the admiral, Ariabignes, son of Darius, and brother of Xerxes, and many other illustrious men of the Persians and Medes, and the other allies; but only some few of the Greeks: for as they knew how to swim, they whose ships were destroyed, and who did not perish in actual conflict, swam safe to Salamis; whereas many of the barbarians, not knowing how to swim, perished in the sea. When the foremost ships were put to flight, then the greatest numbers were destroyed; for those who were stationed behind, endeavouring to pass on with their ships to the front, that they, too, might give the king some proof of their courage, fell foul of their own flying ships. 90. The following event also occurred in this confusion. Some Phœnicians, whose ships were destroyed, going to the king, accused the Ionians, that their ships had perished by their means, for that they had betrayed him. It, however, turned out that the Ionian captains were not put to death, but that those Phœnicians who accused them, received the following reward. For while they were yet speaking, a Samothracian ship bore down on an Athenian ship; the Athenian was sunk, and an Æginetan

ship, coming up, sunk the ship of the Samothracians. But the Samothracians being javelin-men, by hurling their javelins, drove the marines from the ship that had sunk them, and boarded and got possession of it. This action saved the Ionians: for when Xerxes saw them perform so great an exploit, he turned round to the Phœnicians, as being above measure grieved, and ready to blame all, and ordered their heads to be struck off, that they who had proved themselves cowards, might no more accuse those who were braver. (For whenever Xerxes saw any one of his own men performing a gallant action in the sea-fight, being seated at the foot of the mountain opposite Salamis, which is called *Ægalcos*, he inquired the name of the person who did it, and his secretaries wrote down the family and country of the captain of the trireme.) Moreover, Ariaramnes, a Persian, who was a friend to the Ionians, and happened to be present, contributed to the ruin of the Phœnicians. They accordingly betook themselves to the Phœnicians.⁶

91. The barbarians being turned to flight, and sailing away towards Phalerus, the *Æginetæ* waylaying them in the strait, performed actions worthy of record. For the Athenians in the rout ran down both those ships that resisted and those that fled; and the *Æginetæ*, those that sailed away from the battle: so that when any escaped the Athenians, being borne violently on, they fell into the hands of the *Æginetæ*. 92. At this time there happened to meet together the ship of Themistocles, giving chase to one of the enemy, and that of Polycritus, son of Crius, an *Æginetan*, bearing down upon a Sidonian ship, the same that had taken the *Æginetan* ship, which was keeping watch off Sciathus, and on board of which sailed Pytheas, son of Ischenous, whom, though covered with wounds, the Persians kept in the ship from admiration of his valour.⁷ The Sidonian ship that carried him about, was taken with the Persians on board, so that Pytheas, by this means, returned safe to *Ægina*. But when Polycritus saw the Athenian ship, he knew it, seeing the admiral's ensign; and shouting to Themistocles, he railed at him, upbraiding him with the charge of Medism brought against the *Æginetæ*.⁸ Polycritus, accordingly, as he was attacking the ship, threw out

⁶ That is, "the executioners put them to death."

⁷ See B. VII. chap. 181.

⁸ See B. VI. chap. 49, 50

these reproaches against Themistocles. But the barbarians, whose ships survived, fled and arrived at Phalerus, under the protection of the land-forces.

93. In this engagement of the Greeks, the *Æginetæ* obtained the greatest renown; and next, the Athenians:—of particular persons, Polycritus of *Ægina*, and Athenians, Eumenes the Anagyrasian, with Aminias a Pallenian, who gave chase to Artemisia; and if he had known that Artemisia sailed in that ship, he would not have given over the pursuit, till he had either taken her, or been himself taken. For such had been the order given to the Athenian captains; and besides, a reward of ten thousand drachmas was offered to whoever should take her alive; for they considered it a great indignity that a woman should make war against Athens. She, however, as has been before mentioned, made her escape; and the others, whose ships survived, lay at Phalerus. 94. The Athenians say, that Adimantus, the Corinthian admiral, immediately from the commencement, when the ships engaged, being dismayed and excessively frightened, hoisted sail and fled; and that the Corinthians, seeing their admiral's ship flying, likewise bore away; and when, in their flight, they arrived off the temple of Minerva Sciras, on the coast of Salamis, a light bark fell in with them by the guidance of heaven; that no one appeared to have sent it, and that it came up to the Corinthians, who knew nothing relating to the fleet. From this circumstance they conjectured the circumstance to be divine; for that when those on board the bark neared the ships, they spoke as follows: "Adimantus, having drawn off your ships, you have hurried away in flight, betraying the Greeks: they, however, are victorious, as far as they could have desired to conquer their enemies." Having said this, as Adimantus did not credit them, they again spoke as follows: that "they were ready to be taken as hostages, and be put to death, if the Greeks were not found to be victorious:" upon which, having put about ship, he and the rest returned to the fleet, when the work was done. Such a story is told of them by the Athenians; the Corinthians, however, do not admit its truth, but affirm that they were among the foremost in the engagement; and the rest of Greece bears testimony in their favour. 95. Aristides, son of Lysimachus, an Athenian, of whom I made mention a little before as a most upright man,

in this confusion that took place about Salamis, did as follows : taking with him a considerable number of heavy-armed men, who were stationed along the shore of the Salaminian territory, and were Athenians by race, he landed them on the island of Psyttalea, and they put to the sword all the Persians who were on that little island.

96. When the sea-fight was ended, the Greeks, having hauled on shore at Salamis all the wrecks that still happened to be there, held themselves ready for another battle, expecting the king would still make use of the ships that survived. But a west wind carrying away many of the wrecks, drove them on the shore of Attica, which is called Colias, so as to fulfil both all the other oracles delivered by Bacis and Musæus concerning this sea-fight, and also that relating to the wrecks which were drifted on this shore, which many years before had been delivered by Lysistratus, an Athenian augur, but had not been understood by any of the Greeks : "The Colian women shall broil their meat with oars."⁹ This was to happen after the departure of the king.

97. Xerxes, when he saw the defeat he had sustained, fearing lest some of the Ionians might suggest to the Greeks, or lest they themselves might resolve to sail to the Hellespont, for the purpose of breaking up the bridges, and lest he, being shut up in Europe, might be in danger of perishing, meditated flight. But wishing that his intention should not be known either to the Greeks or his own people, he attempted to throw a mound across to Salamis ; and he fastened together Phœnician merchantmen, that they might serve instead of a raft and a wall ; and he made preparation for war, as if about to fight another battle at sea. All the others who saw him thus occupied, were firmly convinced that he had seriously determined to stay and continue the war ; but none of these things escaped the notice of Mardonius, who was well acquainted with his design. At the same time that Xerxes was doing this, he despatched a messenger to the Persians, to inform them of the misfortune that had befallen him. 98. There is nothing mortal that reaches its destination more rapidly than these couriers : it has been thus planned by the Persians. They say that as many days as are occupied in the whole journey, so many horses and men are posted at regular inter-

⁹ Or, "shall shudder at the oars."

vals, a horse and a man being stationed at each day's journey : neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor night, prevents them from performing their appointed stage as quick as possible. The first courier delivers his orders to the second, the second to the third, and so it passes throughout, being delivered from one to the other, just like the torch-bearing among the Greeks, which they perform in honour of Vulcan. This mode of travelling by horses the Persians call *angareïon*. 99. The first message that reached Susa, with the news that Xerxes was in possession of Athens, caused so great joy among the Persians who had been left behind, that they strewed all the roads with myrtle, burnt perfumes, and gave themselves up to sacrifices and festivity. But the second messenger arriving threw them into such consternation, that they all rent their garments, and uttered unbounded shouts and lamentations, laying the blame on Mardonius. The Persians acted thus, not so much being grieved for the ships, as fearing for Xerxes himself. And this continued with the Persians during all the time that elapsed until Xerxes himself arrived and stopped them *from doing so*.

100. Mardonius, seeing Xerxes much afflicted on account of the sea-fight, and suspecting he was meditating a retreat from Athens, and having thought within himself, that he should suffer punishment for having persuaded the king to invade Greece, and that it would be better for him to incur the hazard either of subduing Greece, or ending his life gloriously in attempting great achievements : however, the thought of subduing Greece weighed more with him ; having, therefore, considered these things, he thus addressed the king : " Sire, do not grieve, nor think you have suffered any great loss in consequence of what has happened ; for the contest with us does not depend on wood alone, but on men and horses. None of those who imagine they have already finished the whole business, will quit their ships and attempt to oppose you, nor will any one from this continent ; and they who have opposed us, have suffered punishment. If, then, you think fit, let us immediately make an attempt on Peloponnesus ; or if you think right to delay, you may do so. But be not discouraged ; for the Greeks have no means of escape from rendering an account of what they have done now and formerly, and from becoming your slaves. By all means, therefore, do this. If, however, you have determined yourself to retire and to with-

draw the army, I have then other advice to offer. Do not you, O king, suffer the Persians to be exposed to the derision of the Greeks; for where the Persians fought,¹ your affairs received no damage, nor can you say that we have on any occasion proved cowards. But if the Phœnicians, Egyptians, Cyprians, and Cilicians, have shown themselves cowards, this disaster in no respect extends to the Persians. Since, therefore, the Persians are not to blame, yield to my advice. If you have resolved not to stay here, do you return to your own home, and take with you the greatest part of the army; but it is right that I should deliver Greece to you reduced to slavery, having selected three hundred thousand men from the army." 101. Xerxes, having heard this, was rejoiced and delighted, as relieved from troubles, and said to Mardonius, that after deliberation, he would give him an answer as to which of these plans he would adopt. While he was deliberating with his Persian counsellors, he thought fit to send for Artemisia to the council, because she was evidently the only person who before understood what ought to have been done. When Artemisia arrived, Xerxes having ordered his other counsellors of the Persians and his guards to withdraw, spoke as follows: "Mardonius advises me to stay here, and make an attempt on the Peloponnesus; saying, that the Persians and the land army are not at all to blame for the defeat I have sustained, and wish to give me proof of it. He, therefore, advises me either to do this, or wishes himself, having selected three hundred thousand men from the army, to deliver Greece to me reduced to slavery; and advises me to return to my own home with the rest of the army. Do you, therefore, for you gave me good advice respecting the sea-fight that has taken place, in dissuading me from engaging in it, advise me now, by adopting which measure I shall consult best for my interest." 102. Thus he asked her advice. She answered as follows: "O king, it is difficult for me to say what is best for you who ask my advice. However, in the present state of affairs, it appears to me that you should return home, and leave Mardonius here with the troops he requires, if he wishes it, and promises to effect what he says. For, on the one hand, if he conquers what he says he will, and his plans should succeed, the achievement, sire, will be yours, for your servants

¹ Literally, "among the Persians."

will have accomplished it. But, on the other hand, if things fall out contrary to the expectation of Mardonius, it will be no great misfortune, so long as you survive, and your own affairs are safe at home. For whilst you survive, and your house, the Greeks will have to hazard frequent struggles for themselves. But of Mardonius, if he should suffer any reverse, no account will be taken; nor if the Greeks are victorious, will they gain any great victory in destroying your slave. But you, having burnt Athens, for which you undertook this expedition, will return home." 103. Xerxes was pleased with her advice, for she happened to say the very things that he designed. For even if all the men and women of the world had advised him to stay, in my opinion, he would not have stayed, so great was his terror. Having commended Artemisia, he sent her to conduct his sons to Ephesus; for some of his natural sons had accompanied him.

104. With the children he sent Hermotimus, as guardian, who was by birth a Pedasian, and among the eunuchs second to none in the king's favour. The Pedasians dwell above Halicarnassus; and among these Pedasians the following occurrence takes place: when within a certain time any calamity is about to fall on the different neighbours who dwell round their city, then the priestess of Minerva has a large beard. This has already happened twice to them. 105. Hermotimus, then, was sprung from these Pedasians; and of all the men we know, revenged himself in the severest manner for an injury he had received. For having been taken by an enemy, and sold, he was purchased by one Panionius, a Chian, who gained a livelihood by most infamous practices. For whenever he purchased boys remarkable for beauty, having castrated them, he used to take and sell them at Sardis and Ephesus for large sums; for with the barbarians eunuchs are more valued than others, on account of their perfect fidelity. Panionius, therefore, had castrated many others, as he made his livelihood by this means, and among them this man: Hermotimus, however, was not unfortunate in every respect, for he went to Sardis with other presents to the king; and in process of time was most esteemed by Xerxes of all his eunuchs. 106. When the king was preparing to march his Persian army against Athens, and was at Sardis, at that time having gone down, on some business or other, to the Mysian territory which the Chians possess,

and is called Atarneus, he there met with Panionius. Having recognised him, he addressed many friendly words to him; first recounting to him the many advantages he had acquired by his means; and secondly, promising him how many benefits he would confer on him in requital, if he would bring his family and settle there:² so that Panionius, joyfully accepting the proposal, brought his children and wife. But when Hermotimus got him with his whole family in his power, he addressed him as follows: "O thou, who of all mankind hast gained thy livelihood by the most infamous acts, what harm had either I, or any of mine, done to thee, or any of thine, that of a man thou hast made me nothing? Thou didst imagine, surely, that thy machinations would pass unnoticed by the gods; who following righteous laws, have enticed thee, who hast committed unholy deeds, into my hands, so that thou canst not complain of the punishment I shall inflict on thee." When he had thus upbraided him, his sons being brought into his presence, Panionius was compelled to castrate his own sons, who were four in number; and being compelled, he did it; and, after he had finished it, his sons, being compelled, castrated him. Thus the vengeance of Hermotimus³ overtook Panionius.

107. Xerxes, when he had committed his sons to Artemisia to convey to Ephesus, having sent for Mardonius, bade him choose what forces he would out of the army, and endeavour to make his actions correspond with his words. Thus much was done that day; but in the night, the admirals, by the king's order, took back the ships from Phalerus to the Hellespont, as quickly as each was able, in order to guard the bridges for the king to pass over. But when the barbarians were sailing near Zoster, where some small promontories jut out from the main land, they fancied that they were ships, and fled for a considerable distance; but after a while, perceiving that they were not ships but promontories, they collected together, and pursued their voyage. 108. When day came, the Greeks, seeing the land-forces remaining in the same place, supposed that their ships also were at Phalerus; they expected also that they would come to an engagement, and prepared to defend themselves; but when they were informed that the ships had departed, they immediately determined to pursue them. How-

² At Sardis.

³ Literally, "vengeance and Hermotimus."

ever they did not get sight of Xerxes' naval force, although they pursued them as far as Andros : on arriving at Andros, therefore, they held a council. Themistocles accordingly gave his opinion, "that shaping their course between the islands, and pursuing the ships, they should sail directly to the Hellespont, and destroy the bridges." But Eurybiades gave a contrary opinion, saying, that "if they destroyed the bridges, they would do the greatest possible harm to Greece : for if the Persian, being shut in, should be compelled to remain in Europe, he would endeavour not to continue inactive ; for if he continued inactive, he could neither advance his affairs, nor find any means of returning home, but his army must perish by famine ; and if he should attack them and apply himself to action, all Europe would probably go over to him, by cities and nations, either through being taken by force, or capitulating beforehand ; and they would derive sustenance from the annual produce of the Greeks. He thought however that the Persian, having been conquered in the sea-fight, would not remain in Europe, and therefore should be permitted to fly, until in his flight he should reach his own country. After that he advised that he should be compelled to fight for his own territories." This opinion the commanders of the other Peloponnesians adhered to.

109. When Themistocles perceived that he could not persuade the majority to sail for the Hellespont, changing his plan, he thus addressed the Athenians, (for they were exceedingly annoyed at the escape of the enemy, and were desirous, having consulted among themselves, to sail to the Hellespont, even if the others would not.) "I have myself, ere this, witnessed many such instances, and have heard of many more ; that men, when driven to necessity after being conquered, have renewed the fight and repaired their former loss. Since, then, we have met with unexpected success for ourselves and Greece, by having repelled such a cloud of men, let us no longer pursue the fugitives. For we have not wrought this deliverance, but the gods and the heroes, who were jealous that one man should reign over both Asia and Europe, and he unholy and wicked ; who treated sacred and profane things alike, burning and throwing down the images of the gods ; who even scourged the sea, and threw fetters into it. Since, then, our affairs are in a prosperous condition, let us remain in

Greece, and take care of ourselves and our families ; let every one repair his house and apply attentively to sowing his ground, after he has thoroughly expelled the barbarian ; and at the beginning of the spring let us sail to the Hellespont and Ionia." This he said wishing to secure favour with the Persian, that, if any misfortune should overtake him from the Athenians, he might have a place of refuge ; which eventually came to pass. 110. Themistocles, in saying this, deceived them ; and the Athenians were persuaded ; for as he had been before considered a wise man, and had now shown himself to be really wise and prudent in counsel, they were ready to yield implicitly to what he said. But after they had been persuaded, Themistocles presently sent off certain persons in a boat, who he was confident would, though put to every torture, keep secret what he had enjoined them to say to the king ; and of these his domestic Sicinnus⁴ was again one. When they reached the shore of Attica, the rest remained in the boat, and Sicinnus having gone up to the king, spoke as follows : " Themistocles, son of Neocles, general of the Athenians, the most valiant and wisest of all the allies, has sent me to tell you, that Themistocles, the Athenian, wishing to serve you, has withheld the Greeks, who wished to pursue your ships, and to destroy the bridges on the Hellespont ; now therefore retire at your leisure." They, having made this communication, sailed back again.

111. The Greeks, when they had determined neither to pursue the ships of the barbarians any farther, nor to sail to the Hellespont and destroy the passage, invested Andros with intention to destroy it : for the Andrians were the first of the islanders who, when asked for money by Themistocles, refused to give it : but when Themistocles held this language to them, that " the Athenians had come having with them two powerful deities, Persuasion and Necessity, and that therefore they must give money ; " they answered to this, saying, that " the Athenians were with good reason great and prosperous, and were favoured by propitious gods ; since however the Andrians were poor in territory, and had reached the lowest pitch of penury, and two unprofitable goddesses, Poverty and Impossibility, never forsook their island, but ever loved to dwell there ; therefore that the Andrians, being in possession

⁴ See chap. 75.

of these deities, would not give any money ; for that the power of the Athenians would never prove superior to their inability." They then, having made this answer, and refused to give money, were besieged. 112. Themistocles, for he never ceased coveting more wealth, sending threatening messages to the other islands, demanded money by the same persons, using the same language he had used with the Andrians ; saying that unless they gave what was demanded, he would lead the forces of the Greeks against them, and would besiege and destroy them. By saying this he collected large sums from the Carystians and the Parians ; who being informed respecting Andros that it was besieged for siding with the Mede, and with regard to Themistocles, that he was in the greatest reputation of the generals, alarmed at these things, sent money. Whether any other of the islanders gave it I am unable to say ; but I am of opinion that some others did, and not these only. However, the Carystians⁵ did not by these means at all defer calamity ; though the Parians, having conciliated Themistocles with money, escaped a visit from the army. Themistocles, accordingly, setting out from Andros, obtained money from the islanders, unknown to the other generals.

113. The army with Xerxes having stayed a few days after the sea-fight, marched back into Bœotia by the same way, for it appeared to Mardonius, both that he should escort the king, and that the season of the year was unfit for military operations ; and that it would be better to winter in Thessaly, and to make an attempt on the Peloponnesus early in the spring. When he arrived in Thessaly, Mardonius there selected, first, all the Persians who are called Immortals, except Hydarnes their general, for he declared he would not leave the king ; after these, out of the rest of the Persians, the cuirassiers, and the body of a thousand horse,⁶ and the Medes, Sacæ, Bactrians, and Indians, both infantry and cavalry ; he chose these whole nations ; but from the rest of the allies he selected a few, choosing such as were of a good stature, or by whom he knew some gallant action had been performed. Amongst them, he chose the greatest part of the Persians, who wore necklaces and bracelets ; next to them, the Medes ; these were not less numerous than the Persians, but were inferior in strength. Thus

⁵ See ch. 121.

⁶ See B. VII. ch. 40, and IX. ch. 62.

the whole together, with the cavalry, made up the number of three hundred thousand. 114. At this time, while Mardonius was selecting his army, and Xerxes was in Thessaly, an oracle came to the Lacedæmonians from Delphi, *admonishing them* to demand satisfaction of Xerxes for the death of Leonidas, and to accept whatever should be given by him. Accordingly the Spartans immediately despatched a herald as quickly as possible, who, when he overtook the whole army still in Thessaly, having come into the presence of Xerxes, spoke as follows: "King of the Medes, the Lacedæmonians and Heraclidæ of Sparta demand of you satisfaction for blood, because you have slain their king, while protecting Greece." But he laughing, and having waited a considerable time, as Mardonius happened to be standing near him, pointed to him, and said, "This Mardonius, then, shall give them such satisfaction as they deserve." The herald, having accepted the omen, went away.

115. Xerxes, having left Mardonius in Thessaly, himself marched in all haste to the Hellespont; and arrived at the place of crossing in forty-five days, bringing back no part of his army, so to speak. Wherever, and among whatever nation, they happened to be marching, they seized and consumed their corn; but if they found no fruit, overcome by hunger, they eat up the herbage that sprung up from the ground, and stripped off the bark of trees and gathered leaves, both from the wild and cultivated, and left nothing; this they did from hunger. But a pestilence and dysentery falling on the army, destroyed them on their march. Such of them as were sick, Xerxes left behind, ordering the cities through which he happened to be passing, to take care of and feed them: some in Thessaly, others at Siris of Pæonia, and in Macedonia. Here having left the sacred chariot of Jupiter, when he marched against Greece, he did not receive it back, as he returned; for the Pæonians having given it to the Thracians, when Xerxes demanded it back, said that the mares had been stolen, as they were feeding, by the upper Thracians, who dwell round the sources of the Strymon. 116. There the king of the Bisaltæ and of the Crestonian territory, a Thracian, perpetrated a most unnatural deed: he declared that he would not willingly be a slave to Xerxes, but went up to the top of Mount Rhodope, and enjoined his sons not to join the expedition against Greece. They, however, disregarding his pro-

hibition, from a desire to see the war, served in the army with the Persian: but when they all returned safe, being six in number, their father had their eyes put out for this disobedience; and they met with this recompence.

117. The Persians, when in their march from Thrace they arrived at the passage, in great haste crossed over the Hellespont to Abydos in their ships; for they found the rafts no longer stretched across, but broken up by a storm. While detained there, they got more food than on their march, and having filled themselves immoderately, and changed their water, a great part of the army that survived, died: the rest with Xerxes reached Sardis. 118. This different account is also given, that when Xerxes in his retreat from Athens arrived at Eïon on the Strymon, from thence he no longer continued his journey by land, but committed the army to Hydarnes to conduct to the Hellespont, and himself going on board a Phœnician ship passed over to Asia: that during his voyage a violent and tempestuous wind from the Strymon overtook him; and then, for the storm increased in violence, the ship being overloaded, so that many of the Persians who accompanied Xerxes were on the deck, thereupon the king becoming alarmed, and calling aloud, asked the pilot if there were any hope of safety for them; and he said: "There is none, sire, unless we get rid of some of those many passengers." It is further related, that Xerxes, having heard this answer, said: "O Persians, now let some among you show his regard for the king, for on you my safety seems to depend." That he spoke thus; and that they, having done homage, leapt into the sea; and that the ship, being lightened, thus got safe to Asia. *It is added*, that Xerxes, immediately after he landed, did as follows: he presented the pilot with a golden crown, because he had saved the king's life; but ordered his head to be struck off, because he had occasioned the loss of many Persians. 119. This latter story is told of the return of Xerxes, but appears to me not at all deserving of credit, either in other respects, nor as to this loss of the Persians; for if this speech had been made by the pilot to Xerxes, I should not find one opinion in ten thousand to deny that the king would have acted thus: that he would have sent down into the hold of the ship those who were on deck, since they were Persians, and Persians of high rank, and would have thrown

into the sea a number of rowers, who were Phœnicians, equal to that of the Persians. He, however, as I have before related, proceeding on the march with the rest of the army, returned to Asia. 120. This also is a strong proof: it is known that Xerxes reached Abdera on his way back, and made an alliance of friendship with the people, and presented them with a golden scymetar, and a gold-embroidered tiara. And as the Abderites themselves say, saying what is by no means credible to me, he there for the first time loosened his girdle in his flight from Athens, as being at length in a place of safety. Abdera is situated nearer to the Hellespont than the Strymon and Eïon, whence they say he embarked on board the ship.

121. Meanwhile the Greeks, finding they were not able to reduce Andros, turned to Carystus, and having ravaged their country, returned to Salamis. In the first place, then, they set apart first-fruits for the gods, and among other things, three Phœnician triremes; one to be dedicated at the Isthmus, which was there in my time; a second at Sunium, and the third to Ajax, there at Salamis. After that, they divided the booty, and sent the first-fruits to Delphi, from which a statue was made, holding the beak of a ship in its hand, and twelve cubits in height; it stands in the place where is the golden statue of Alexander the Macedonian. 122. The Greeks, having sent first-fruits to Delphi, inquired of the god in the name of all, if he had received sufficient and acceptable first-fruits: he answered, that from the rest of the Greeks he had, but not from the Æginetæ; of them he demanded an offering on account of their superior valour in the sea-fight at Salamis. The Æginetæ, being informed of this, dedicated three golden stars, which are placed on a brazen mast in the corner, very near the bowl of Cræsus.⁷ 123. After the division of the booty, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus, for the purpose of conferring the palm of valour upon him among the Greeks who had proved himself most deserving throughout the war. When the generals, having arrived, distributed the ballots at the altar of Neptune, selecting the first and second out of all; thereupon every one gave his vote for himself, each thinking himself the most valiant; but with respect to the second place, the majority concurred in selecting Themistocles. They, there-

⁷ See B. I. chap. 51.

fore, had but one vote, whereas Themistocles had a great majority for the second honour. 124. Though the Greeks, out of envy, would not determine this matter, but returned to their several countries without coming to a decision; yet Themistocles was applauded and extolled throughout all Greece, as being by far the wisest man of the Greeks. But because, although victorious, he was not honoured by those who fought at Salamis, he immediately afterwards went to Lacedæmon, hoping to be honoured there. The Lacedæmonians received him nobly, and paid him the greatest honours. They gave the prize of valour to Eurybiades, a crown of olive; and of wisdom and dexterity to Themistocles, to him also a crown of olive. And they presented him with the most magnificent chariot in Sparta; and having praised him highly, on his departure, three hundred chosen Spartans, the same that are called knights, escorted him as far as the Tegean boundaries. He is the only man that we know of whom the Spartans escorted on his journey. 125. When he arrived at Athens, from Lacedæmon, thereupon Timodemus of Aphidnæ, who was one of Themistocles' enemies, though otherwise a man of no distinction, became mad through envy, reproached Themistocles, alleging against him his journey to Lacedæmon; and that the honours he received from the Lacedæmonians were conferred on account of Athens, and not for his own sake. But he, as Timodemus did not cease to repeat the same thing, said: "The truth is, neither should I, were I a Belbinite, have been thus honoured by the Spartans; nor would you, fellow, were you an Athenian." So far, then, this occurred.

126. In the mean time, Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, a man even before of high repute among the Persians, and much more so after the battle of Plataæ, having with him sixty thousand men of the army which Mardonius selected, escorted the king as far as the passage. And when the king arrived in Asia, he, marching back, came into the neighbourhood of Pallene: but as Mardonius was wintering in Thessaly and Macedonia, and there was nothing as yet to urge him to join the rest of the army, he did not think it right, since he happened to be in the way of the Potidæans who had revolted, to neglect the opportunity of reducing them to slavery. For the Potidæans, as soon as the king had passed by, and the

Persian fleet had fled from Salamis, openly revolted from the barbarians; as also did the other inhabitants of Pallene. 127. Artabazus, therefore, besieged Potidæa. And as he suspected that the Olynthians intended to revolt from the king, he also besieged their city. The Bottiæans then held it, who had been driven from the bay of Therma by the Macedonians. When he had besieged and taken them, having taken them out to a marsh, he slaughtered them, and gave the city to Critobulus of Torone to govern, and to the Chalcidian race: thus the Chalcidians became possessed of Olynthus. 128. Artabazus, having taken this city, applied himself vigorously to the siege of Potidæa; and, as he was earnestly engaged with it, Timoxenus, general of the Scionæans, treated with him for the betrayal of the city: in what way at first I am unable to say, for it is not reported; at last, however, the following plan was adopted. When either Timoxenus had written a letter and wished to send it to Artabazus, or Artabazus to Timoxenus, having rolled it round the butt-end of an arrow, and put the feathers over the letter, they shot the arrow to a spot agreed upon. But Timoxenus was detected in attempting to betray Potidæa. For Artabazus, when endeavouring to shoot to the spot agreed upon, missed the right spot and wounded one of the Potidæans on the shoulder; a crowd ran round the wounded man, as is usual in time of war; they having immediately drawn out the arrow, when they perceived the letter, carried it to the generals; and an allied force of the other Pallenians was also present. When the generals had read the letter, and discovered the author of the treachery, they determined not to impeach Timoxenus of treason, for the sake of the city of the Scionæans, lest the Scionæans should ever after be accounted traitors. In this manner, then, he was detected. 129. After three months had been spent by Artabazus in the siege, there happened a great ebb of the sea, which lasted for a long time. The barbarians, seeing a passage that might be forded, marched across towards Pallene; and when they had performed two parts of their journey, and three still remained, which they must have passed over to be within Pallene, a strong flood-tide of the sea came on them, such as was never seen before, as the inhabitants say, though floods are frequent. Those, then, that did not know how to swim, perished, and those that did know

how, the Potidæans, sailing upon them in boats, put to death. The Potidæans say, that the cause of this flux and inundation, and of the Persian disaster, was this, that these very Persians who were destroyed by the sea, had committed impieties at the temple of Neptune, and the statue which stands in the suburbs; and in saying this was the cause, they appear to me to speak correctly. The survivors Artabazus led to Thessaly, to join Mardonius. Such, then, was the fate of those troops that had escorted the king.

130. The naval force of Xerxes, that survived when it reached Asia in its flight from Salamis, and had transported the king and his army from the Chersonese to Abydos, wintered at Cyme. And at the first appearance of spring, it assembled early at Samos; and some of the ships had wintered there. Most of the marines were Persians and Medes, and their generals came on board, Mardontes, son of Bagæus, and Artayntes, son of Artachæus; and Ithamitres, nephew of the latter, shared the command with them, Artayntes himself having associated him with them. As they had sustained a severe blow, they did not advance farther to the westward, nor did any one compel them; but remaining, they kept watch over Ionia lest it should revolt, having three hundred ships, including those of Ionia. Neither did they expect that the Greeks would come to Ionia, but *thought* they would be content to guard their own territory; inferring this, because they had not pursued them in their flight from Salamis, but had readily retired. By sea therefore they despaired of success, but on land they imagined that Mardonius would be decidedly superior. While they were at Samos, they at the same time consulted together whether they could do the enemy any damage, and listened anxiously for news of how the affairs of Mardonius would succeed. 131. The approach of spring, and Mardonius being in Thessaly, aroused the Grecians. Their land-forces were not yet assembled; but their fleet arrived at Ægina, in number one hundred and ten ships. Their leader and admiral was Leotychides, son of Menares, son of Agesilaus, son of Hippocratides, son of Leotychides, son of Anaxilaus, son of Archidamus, son of Anaxandrides, son of Theopompus, son of Nicander, son of Charillus, son of Eunomus, son of Polydectes, son of Prytanis, son of Euryphon, son of Procles, son of Aristodemus, son of Aristomachus, son of

Cleodæus, son of Hyllus, son of Hercules: he was of the second branch of the royal family. All these, except the two mentioned first after Leotychides, were kings of Sparta. Xanthippus, son of Aripbron, commanded the Athenians. 132. When all these ships were assembled at Ægina, ambassadors from the Ionians arrived at the encampment of the Greeks; who a short time before had gone to Sparta, and entreated the Lacedæmonians to liberate Ionia; and among them was Herodotus, son of Basilides. These, who were originally seven in number, having conspired together, formed a plan of putting Strattis, the tyrant of Chios, to death; but as they were detected in their plot, one of the accomplices having given information of the attempt, thereupon the rest, being six, withdrew from Chios and went to Sparta, and at the present time to Ægina, beseeching the Greeks to sail down to Ionia; they with difficulty prevailed on them to advance as far as Delos. For all beyond that was dreaded by the Greeks, who were unacquainted with those countries, and thought all parts were full of troops; Samos, they were convinced in their imaginations, was as far distant as the columns of Hercules. Thus it fell out, that at the same time the barbarians durst not sail farther westward than Samos; nor the Greeks, though the Chians besought them, further eastward than Delos. Thus fear protected the midway between them.

133. The Greeks, then, sailed to Delos, and Mardonius was in winter-quarters about Thessaly. When preparing to set out from thence, he sent a man, a native of Europus, whose name was Mys, to consult the oracles, with orders to go every where and consult all that it was possible for him to inquire of. What he wished to learn from the oracles when he gave these orders, I am unable to say, for it is not related; I am of opinion, however, that he sent to inquire about the affairs then depending, and not about any others. 134. This Mys clearly appears to have arrived at Lebadea, and having persuaded a native of the place by a bribe, descended into the cave of Trophonius; and arrived also at the oracle of Abæ of the Phocians; moreover, as soon as he arrived at Thebes, he first of all consulted the Ismenian Apollo, and it is there the custom, as in Olympia, to consult the oracle by means of victims; and next, having persuaded some stranger, not a Theban, by money, he caused him to sleep in the temple of Amphiaraus. For none of the

Thebans are permitted to consult there, for the following reason : Amphiaraus, communicating with them by means of oracles, bade them choose whichever they would of these two things, to have him either for their prophet, or their ally, abstaining from the other : they chose to have him for their ally : for this reason therefore no Theban is allowed to sleep there.

135. The following, to me very strange circumstance, is related by the Theban to have happened : that this Mys, of Europus, in going round to all the oracles, came also to the precinct of the Ptoan Apollo ; this temple is called Ptoan, but belongs to the Thebans, and is situate above the lake Copais, at the foot of a mountain, very near the city of Acræphia : that when this man, called Mys, arrived at this temple, three citizens, chosen by the public, accompanied him for the purpose of writing down what the oracle should pronounce : and forthwith the priestess gave an answer in a foreign tongue ; and that those Thebans who accompanied him stood amazed at hearing a foreign language instead of Greek, and knew not what to do on the present occasion ; but that Mys suddenly snatching from them the tablet which they brought, wrote on it the words spoken by the prophet ; and said that he had given an answer in the Carian tongue ; and after he had written it down he departed for Thessaly.

136. Mardonius having read the answers of the oracles, afterwards sent Alexander, son of Amyntas, a Macedonian, as an ambassador to Athens ; as well because the Persians were related to him, (for Bubares, a Persian, had married Alexander's sister Gygæa, daughter of Amyntas, by whom he had the Amyntas in Asia, who took his name from his maternal grandfather : to him Alabanda, a large city of Phrygia, had been given by the king to govern,) as because he had been informed that Alexander was a friend and benefactor of the Athenians ; Mardonius therefore sent him. For in this way he thought he should best be able to gain over the Athenians, having heard that they were a numerous and valiant people ; and besides, he knew that the Athenians had been the principal cause of the late disaster of the Persians at sea. If these were won over, he hoped that he should easily become master at sea, which indeed would have been the case ; and on land he imagined that he was much superior : thus he calculated that his power would get the upper hand of the Grecian. Per-

haps also the oracles had given him this warning, advising him to make Athens his ally ; accordingly, relying on them, he sent.

137. The seventh ancestor of this Alexander was Perdiccas, who obtained the sovereignty of the Macedonians in the following manner. Gauanes, Aëropus, and Perdiccas, three brothers, of the descendants of Temenus, fled from Argos to the Illyrians, and crossing over from the Illyrians into the upper Macedonia, they arrived at the city of Lebæa ; there they entered into the king's service for wages. One of them had the care of his horses ; another, of his oxen ; and the youngest of them, Perdiccas, of the lesser cattle. Formerly, even monarchs were poor in wealth, and not only the people ; so that the wife of the king used herself to cook their food. Whenever the bread of the hireling lad Perdiccas was baked, it became twice as large as at first : and when this always happened, she told it to her own husband. It immediately occurred to him, when he heard it, that it was a prodigy, and boded something of importance. Having therefore summoned the hirelings, he commanded them to depart out of his territories. They answered, that they were entitled to receive their wages, and then they would go. Thereupon the king, hearing about wages, as the rays of the sun reached into the house down the chimney, said, being deprived of his senses by the deity : " I give you this, as your wages equal to your services ;" pointing to the sun. Gauanes and Aëropus, the elder, stood amazed when they heard this. But the lad, for he happened to have a knife, saying thus, " We accept thy offer, O king," traced a circle on the floor of the house round the sun's rays, and having so traced the circle, and having drawn the sun's rays three times on his bosom, departed, and the others with him. 138. They accordingly went away ; but one of those who were sitting by him, informed the king what the lad had done, and how the youngest of them accepted the offer with some design. He, on hearing this, being in a rage, despatched after them some horsemen to kill them. In this country is a river, to which the descendants of these men from Argos sacrifice as their deliverer. It, when the Temenidæ had crossed over, swelled to such a height, that the horsemen were unable to cross it. They, then, coming to another district of Macedonia, settled near the gardens that are said to

have belonged to Midas, son of Gordias; in which wild roses grow, each one having sixty leaves, and surpassing all others in fragrance. In these gardens, Silenus was taken, as is related by the Macedonians. Above the gardens is a mountain, called Bermion, inaccessible from the cold. Issuing from thence, when they had possessed themselves of this tract, they subdued the rest of Macedonia. 139. From this Perdiccas, Alexander was thus descended. Alexander was the son of Amyntas, Amyntas of Alcetes, the father of Alcetes was Aëropus, of him Philip, of Philip, Argæus, and of him, Perdiccas, who acquired the sovereignty. Thus, then, was Alexander son of Amyntas descended.

140. When he arrived at Athens, being sent by Mardonius, he spoke as follows: (1.) "Men of Athens, Mardonius says thus: A message has come to me from the king, conceived in these terms: 'I forgive the Athenians all the injuries committed by them against me; therefore, Mardonius, do thus. First, restore to them their territory; and next, let them choose, in addition to it, another country, whatever they please, and live under their own laws; and rebuild all their temples which I have burnt, if they are willing to come to terms with me.' These orders having come to me, I must of necessity execute them, unless you on your part oppose. And now I say this to you. Why are you so mad as to levy war against the king: for neither can you get the better of him, nor can you resist him for ever. You are acquainted with the multitude of Xerxes' army, and their achievements; you have heard of the force that is even now with me; so that even if you should get the better of us and conquer, (of which, however, you can have no hope, if you think soberly,) another much more numerous will come against you. Suffer not yourselves, then, to be deprived of your country, and to be continually running a risk for your existence, by equalling yourselves with the king, but be reconciled to him; and it is in your power to be reconciled honourably, since the king is so disposed. Be free, having contracted an alliance with us, without guile or deceit. (2.) This, O Athenians, Mardonius charged me to say to you. But I, for my own part, will say nothing of the good-will I bear towards you; for you would not learn it for the first time. But I entreat you, listen to Mardonius, for I see that you will not always be able to carry on war against

Xerxes. For if I had seen this power in you, I would never have come to you bringing such a proposal. For the power of the king is more than human, and his arm exceeding long. If, then, you do not immediately come to terms, when they offer such favourable conditions on which they are willing to agree, I greatly fear for you, who of all the allies dwell in the most beaten road, and who must continually be the only people destroyed, since ye possess a territory exposed, as being between both armies. Be persuaded, then; for this is a high honour to you, that the great king, forgiving your offences alone among all the Greeks, is willing to become your friend." Thus spoke Alexander. 141. But the Lacedæmonians, having been informed that Alexander had arrived at Athens, in order to induce the Athenians to an agreement with the barbarian; and remembering the oracles, how it was fated that they, with the rest of the Dorians, should be driven out of Peloponnesus by the Medes and Athenians, were very much afraid lest the Athenians should make terms with the Persian, and therefore resolved forthwith to send ambassadors. It so happened that the introduction of both took place at the same time. For the Athenians had purposely delayed the time, well knowing that the Lacedæmonians would hear that an ambassador had come from the barbarian to negotiate a treaty, and that when they did hear of it, they would send ambassadors with all speed. They, therefore, designedly so contrived, as to show their intentions to the Lacedæmonians. 142. When Alexander had ceased speaking, the ambassadors from Sparta, speaking next, said: "The Lacedæmonians have sent us to entreat you not to adopt any new measures with respect to Greece, nor to listen to proposals from the barbarian; for neither would it be by any means just nor honourable either in any others of the Greeks, and least of all in you, for many reasons. For you raised this war, against our wish, and the contest arose about your sovereignty; but it now relates to the whole of Greece. Besides, that the Athenians, who are the authors of all these things, should prove the occasion of slavery to Greece, is on no account to be borne; you, who always, and from of old, have been seen to assert the freedom of many nations. We, however, sympathize with you in your difficulties, and that you have already been deprived of two harvests, and that your property has been so long involved in

ruin. But in compensation for this, the Lacedæmonians and the allies promise to support your wives and all the rest of your families which are useless in war, as long as the war shall continue. Therefore, let not Alexander the Macedonian persuade you, by glossing over the proposal of Mardonius; for this is what he would naturally do; for being himself a tyrant, he aids a tyrant's cause. But you should not so act, if indeed you think rightly; because you know that with barbarians there is neither faith nor truth." Thus spoke the ambassadors. 143. The Athenians gave the following answer to Alexander: "We ourselves are aware of this, that the power of the Medes is far greater than ours; so that there was no need to insult us with that. But, nevertheless, being ardent for liberty, we will defend ourselves in such manner as we are able. But do not you attempt to persuade us to come to terms with the barbarian, for we will not be persuaded. Go, then, and tell Mardonius, that the Athenians say, so long as the sun shall continue in the same course as now, we will never make terms with Xerxes: but we will go out to oppose him, trusting in the gods, who fight for us, and in the heroes, whose temples and images he, holding them in no reverence, has burnt. And do you appear no more in the presence of the Athenians, bringing such proposals; nor, imagining that you do us good service, urge us to do wicked deeds. For we are unwilling that you, who are our guest and friend, should meet with any ungracious treatment at the hands of the Athenians." 144. To Alexander they gave this answer; and to the ambassadors from Sparta the following: "That the Lacedæmonians should fear lest we should make terms with the barbarian, was very natural; yet, knowing as you do the mind of the Athenians, you appear to entertain an unworthy dread; for there is neither so much gold any where in the world, nor a country so pre-eminent in beauty and fertility, by receiving which, we should be willing to side with the Mede and enslave Greece. For there are many and powerful considerations that forbid us to do so, even if we were inclined. First and chief, the images and dwellings of the gods, burnt and laid in ruins: this we must needs avenge to the utmost of our power, rather than make terms with the man who has perpetrated such deeds. Secondly, the Grecian race being of the same blood and the same language, and the temples of the gods and sacrifices in

common ; and our similar customs ; for the Athenians to become betrayers of these would not be well. Know, therefore, if you did not know it before, that so long as one Athenian is left alive, we will never make terms with Xerxes. Your forethought, however, which you manifest towards us, we admire, in that you provide for us whose property is thus ruined, so as to be willing to support our families ; and you have fulfilled the duty of benevolence ; we, however, will continue thus in the state we are, without being burdensome to you. Now, since matters stand as they do, send out an army with all possible expedition ; for, as we conjecture, the barbarian will in no long time be here to invade our territories, as soon as he shall hear our message that we will do none of the things he required of us. Therefore, before he has reached Attica, it is fitting that we go out to meet him in Bœotia." When the Athenians had given this answer, the ambassadors returned to Sparta.
